

New York State Historical Association

PROCEEDINGS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL
MEETING WITH CONSTITUTION AND
BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS . . .



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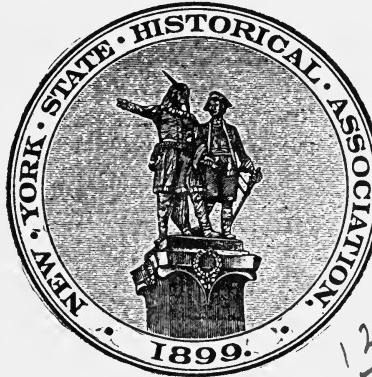
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING, WITH
CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS AND
LIST OF MEMBERS.

VOL. VII.



PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1907

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NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

President,

HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS, NEW YORK.

First Vice-President,

HON. GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE, SANDY HILL.

Second Vice-President,

DR. SHERMAN WILLIAMS, GLENS FALLS.

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JAMES A. HOLDEN, GLENS FALLS.

Secretary,

ROBERT O. BASCOM, FORT EDWARD.

Assistant Secretary,

CHARLES F. KING, GLENS FALLS.

*Deceased.

TRUSTEES.

| | | |
|---|--------------|------|
| Hon. James A. Roberts, New York..... | Term Expires | 1907 |
| Col. John L. Cunningham, Glens Falls..... | " | 1907 |
| Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls..... | " | 1907 |
| Mr. John Boulton Simpson, Bolton..... | " | 1907 |
| *Rev. Dr. C. Ellis Stevens, New York..... | " | 1907 |
| Dr. Everett R. Sawyer, Sandy Hill..... | " | 1907 |
| Mr. Elwyn Seelye, Lake George..... | " | 1907 |
| Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Ticonderoga..... | " | 1907 |
| Mr. Howland Pell, New York..... | " | 1907 |
| Gen. Henry E. Tremain, New York | " | 1908 |
| Mr. William Wait, Kinderhook..... | " | 1908 |
| Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls..... | " | 1908 |
| Mr. Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward..... | " | 1908 |
| Mr. Francis W. Halsey, New York..... | " | 1908 |
| Mr. Harry W. Watrous, Hague..... | " | 1908 |
| Com. John W. Moore, Bolton Landing..... | " | 1908 |
| Rev. Dr. Joseph E. King, Fort Edward..... | " | 1908 |
| Hon. Hugh Hastings, Albany..... | " | 1909 |
| Mr. Asahel R. Wing, Fort Edward..... | " | 1909 |
| Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo..... | " | 1909 |
| Rev. John H. Brandow, Schoharie..... | " | 1909 |
| Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill..... | " | 1909 |
| Col. William L. Stone, Mt. Vernon..... | " | 1909 |
| Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris, New York..... | " | 1909 |

*Deceased.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

New York State Historical Association, Held at the Fort William
Henry Hotel at Lake George, N. Y., August
21st and 22d, 1906.

At the Eighth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association at the Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, August 21st, 1906, a quorum being present, the meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. James A. Roberts. The Secretary, Mr. Robert O. Bascom, being absent, Mr. James A. Holden was made Secretary *pro tem.*

The annual report of the Treasurer was presented, accepted and placed on file. The report was as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF J. A. HOLDEN.

Treasurer New York State Historical Association.

August 20, 1906.

1905.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| July 1, Cash on hand..... | \$194 73 |
| Received from dues..... | 478 10 |
| Received from Gen. Tremain..... | 100 00 |
| | \$772 83 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

1905.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| Aug. 5, Edward Lisk..... | \$200 00 |
| R. O. Bascom..... | 27 50 |
| Sept. 8, Edward Lisk..... | 67 25 |
| R. O. Bascom..... | 23 28 |
| Melvin Reid | 15 31 |
| Nov. 8, Edward Lisk..... | 31 75 |
| Dec. 4, R. O. Bascom, postage..... | 10 00 |
| " 11, R. O. Bascom, postage..... | 5 00 |
| Jan. 16, R. O. Bascom, postage..... | 6 00 |
| Mar. 12, C. O'Blenis | 3 00 |
| Apr. 23, G. F. Publishing Co..... | 10 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$368 14 |

ASSETS.

1906.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Aug. 20, Cash on hand..... | \$368 14 |
| Back dues | 182 00 |
| | _____ |
| Total assets..... | \$550 14 |
| Life membership fund..... | \$271 40 |

The report of the Committee on Historical Spots was read and accepted. The report was as follows:

Glens Falls, N. Y., Aug. 20, 1906.

To the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association,

Gentlemen:—I have had subscriptions amounting to \$200, exclusive from what has been done by Mr. Crandall. Of this sum \$71.25 has been expended and reported upon. The tablet at Halfway Brook is in place. That for Bloody Pond has been ordered of a Chicago firm and should have been here before this. I submit a blue print of the designs. It is thought better that it be not placed in position until after it is certain where the new State Road will be located, as a change of a few feet in either direction might affect materially the general appearance of the tablet when in position.

Respectfully submitted,

SHERMAN WILLIAMS.

Letter from Mr. W. K. Bixby of Bolton Landing, relative to Congressional action on Fort Ticonderoga was read, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, it was unanimously resolved that this Association aid in every way possible the acquisition of Fort Ticonderoga and surrounding battle fields by the United States Government.

The report of the Committee on Membership was read and adopted and ordered filed. On motion the recommendations of the committee were adopted.

The following honorary and corresponding members were duly elected by ballot:

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Hon. Theo. Roosevelt, LL. D., White House, Washington, D. C.
Chas. Francis Adams, LL. D., 23 Court street, Boston, Mass.

Daniel Coit Gilman, LL. D., President of Carnegie Institute, Washington, D. C.

Arthur Irving Hadley, LL. D., President of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, U. S. N., LL. D., D. C. L., 160 W. 86th street, New York.

Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., Litt. D. LL. D., President of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

John Bach McMaster, Ph. D., Libb D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania, Penn.

Goldwin Smith, LL. D., D. C. L., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Arthur Martin Wheeler, LL. D., Yale University, New Haven, Ct.

The following named persons were elected members:

A. J. Merrell, Jeremiah M. Thompson, William O. Cloyes.
After which the meeting adjourned.

SECOND SESSION, AUG. 21, TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

At the symposium at the afternoon session the following addresses were delivered, viz.:

"Fort Niagara as the Base of Indian and Tory Operations,"
Jeremiah M. Thompson, Ph. D., Dundee, N. Y.

"Joseph Brant and His Raids," William L. Stone, A. M., LL. B., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

"The Raids of Tryon County," S. L. Frey, Palatine Bridge, N. Y.

"Schoharie in the Border Warfare of the Revolution," Alfred W. Abrams, A. B., Ilion, N. Y.

"Minisink," Theo. D. Schoonmaker, Goshen, N. Y.

"The Story of Cherry Valley," Henry U. Swinnerton, Ph. D., Cherry Valley, N. Y.

JAS. A. HOLDEN,

Secretary pro tem.

THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22D, 1906.

The Association met, pursuant to adjournment, in the parlors of the Fort William Henry Hotel. An address, entitled "Irish Colonists in New York," was delivered by M. J. O'Brien of New York City, after which the President's address by the Hon. James A. Roberts of New York City was delivered.

The thanks of the Association were tendered to both gentlemen above named by a unanimous vote, after which Mr. Holden proposed the following amendments to the Constitution, and upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, the Secretary was instructed to procure such amendments to be printed and sent to the members of the Association, and that a special meeting of the Association be held at the same time and place as that of the January meeting of the Trustees, and that such amendments be voted upon by the Association at said January Meeting.

The amendments are as follows:

ARTICLE III.**Members.**

Section 1. Members shall be of four classes—Active, Associate, Corresponding and Honorary. Active and Associate members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

Section 5. Persons who shall have given to the Association donations of money, time, labor, books, documents, MSS. collections of antiquities, art or archaeology of a value equivalent in the judgment of the trustees to a life membership may be made Associate members.

ARTICLE IV.**Fees and Dues.**

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership, between January and July of any year, shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum for his or her annual dues. Any person elected to membership subsequent to July 1st, and who shall pay into

the treasury two dollars, shall be exempt from dues until January 1st of the year next succeeding his or her consummation of membership.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member, exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Associate, Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold Perpetual Membership shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

Section 6. Historical Societies, Educational institutions of all kinds, libraries, learned societies, patriotic societies, or any incorporated or unincorporated association for the advancement of learning and intellectual welfare of mankind, shall be considered a "person" under Section 2 of this article.

Mr. Holden thereupon presented the following minute upon the death of Dr. Godfrey R. Martine, which was ordered spread upon the minutes:

"It is with regret that this Society is obliged to chronicle the death of Godfrey R. Martine, M. D., which occurred through an accident near his home in Glens Falls on Wednesday, August 8th, of this year.

"Dr. Martine, in addition to being widely known throughout this section on account of his professional skill, as well as for his acts of generosity and benevolence, was one of the few literary men of this section whose loss is not easily reparable. A wide reader, in sympathy with all educational movements, possessed of an unusual memory, his talks and conversation were enlivened with the most apt quotations in poetry and prose. Dr. Martine was one of the

first members of this Association. He took a great interest in its meetings, was most regular in his attendance, and his suggestions to the officers of the Association were most valuable. His professional standing and well known ability as a literateur, and his universal benevolence render it meet and fitting that this memorial be embodied in the records of our Association."

The following active members were elected:

Dr. Livingston Rowe Schuyler, 17 Lexington avenue, N. Y.
State Normal and Training School, Plattsburg, N. Y.

Charles Waldron Clowe, 280 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Gustave Lange, Jr., 255 Broadway, N. Y. City.

After which the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary.

TRUSTEES' MEETING.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association, held on the 22d of August, 1906, at the parlors of the Fort William Henry Hotel, Lake George, New York, a quorum being present, the meeting was called to order by the President.

The following Trustees were elected for the term of three years, viz.:

Hon. Hugh Hastings, Albany, N. Y.

Mr. Asahel R. Wing, Fort Edward, N. Y.

Hon. D. S. Alexander, Buffalo, N. Y.

Rev. John H. Brandow, Schoharie, N. Y.

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill, N. Y.

Col. William L. Stone, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris, New York City.

Hon. George G. Benedict, Burlington, Vt.

The following officers were elected by ballot:

President, Hon. Jas. A. Roberts, New York.

First Vice-President, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Sandy Hill.

Second Vice-President, Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls.

Third Vice-President, Dr. C. Ellis Stevens, Brooklyn.
Treasurer, James A. Holden, Glens Falls, N. Y.
Secretary, Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward N. Y.
Assistant Secretary, Charles F. King, Glens Falls, N. Y.

The following committees were appointed:

On Legislation:

Hon. James A. Roberts,
Dr. Sherman Williams,
Gen. Henry E. Tremain,
Dr. Jos. E. King,
Hon. Hugh Hastings.

Marking Historical Spots:

Dr. Sherman Williams,
Mr. James A Holden,
Mr. Frederick B. Richards,
Mr. Asahel R. Wing,
Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe.

Fort Ticonderoga:

Elizabeth Watrous,
Hon. Frank S. Witherbee,
W. K. Bixby.

Membership:

Rev. Dr. C. Ellis Stevens.
Robert O. Baseom,
Mr. John Boulton Simpson.

Programme:

Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe,
Dr. Sherman Williams,
D. S. Alexander.

Publication:

Robert O. Bascom,
William Wait,
James A. Holden.

After which, upon motion of Dr. Williams, it was moved that the subject for the next year's meeting be "The Niagara Frontier," and that the literary meeting of the Association be held at such place upon the Niagara Frontier as may be selected by the Committee Upon Program, and that the date for the literary meeting be fixed by said committee, after which the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,

Secretary.

FORT NIAGARA AS THE BASE OF INDIAN AND TORY OPERATIONS.

J. M. THOMPSON, PH. B., DUNDEE, N. Y.

In the month of July, 1764, there might have been seen clustering about the angle of land formed by the Niagara River and Lake Ontario a scene of life and activity seldom witnessed in colonial history.

At the invitation of Sir William Johnson, whose skill and persistence had last won from the French this spot which the English had coveted for a century, all the Indian tribes favorable to his majesty had assembled. Many reasons had led them to accept this invitation. Some came because they were tired of war, some to avert retribution for their friendliness to the French, more no doubt as did the Ojibways, who claimed that upon consulting the "Great Spirit" they received the following reply: "Sir William Johnson will fill your canoes with presents of blankets, kettles, guns, gunpowder, and shot, and barrels of rum, such as the stoutest of the Indians will not be able to lift, and every man will return in safety to his family."

More than two thousand Indians are said to have been present. They represented tribes from Nova Scotia to the head waters of the Mississippi. Their wigwams stretched over a great territory and contrasted strangely with the white tents of the colonial troops under General Bradstreet.

To preserve peace and friendly relations among so many warlike tribes taxed to the utmost the consummate skill of Johnson, but the purpose that he had in mind of binding all these different tribes in bonds of friendship to the British government was worthy of the foresight of one of her greatest colonial subjects.

First, he noticed that the most important of all the Indian nations was not present. He therefore dispatched an Indian runner to the chiefs of the Senecas with the message that unless they presented themselves at the meeting he should consider them enemies and send General Bradstreet to destroy their crops and burn their villages.

The Senecas promptly sent a large band of warriors to the spot, and the council proceeded. Johnson first of all insisted that the Senecas should cede to his government the land upon which the fort stood. The Senecas, overawed by the presence of so many soldiers, gave to the British government a deed of a strip of land four miles wide on each side of the Niagara River. As a special mark of favor to Sir William Johnson himself they exempted the islands in the river from the grant, but gave them to him for a personal possession. By the 6th of August separate treaties had been made with all the various tribes. Ladened with presents, the Indians were allowed to go to their distant homes to tell of the power, wealth and generosity of the Great King.

At this meeting Johnson had expended \$10,000 for provisions and \$190,000 for presents. He had, however, gained for England the permanent friendship of the Indian tribes. In view of the subsequent events, the British government never made a better investment.

Fort Niagara, where this assembly occurred, was situated at the mouth of the Niagara River upon its eastern bank. It thus commanded the portage between Lakes Erie and Ontario as well as the gateway traversed by the Indian tribes and fur traders in their journeys to Ohio, the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Its history had been long and varied. It had been one of the most important in the long chain of forts by which France had endeavored to retain her colonial possessions. It first attracted the attention of the French explorer La Salle, who as early as 1679 built a block house on its site, and thus opened the great fur trade that played so important a part in the life and history of the fort. In the early days of the English occupation it presented a picturesque

scene of striking frontier life. "The rude transient population—red hunters, trappers and bush rangers—starting out from this center, or returning from their journeys of perhaps hundreds of miles to the West; trooping down the portage to the fort, bearing their loads of peltries made Fort Niagara a business headquarters. There the traders brought their guns and ammunition, their blankets and cheap jewelry, to be traded for furs; there the Indians purchased at fabulous prices the white man's "fire water," and many, yes, numberless, were the broils and conflicts in and around the fort."

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War it possessed unusual advantages as a base of Indian and Tory operations. Its location, remote from the actual scenes of war, rendered it perfectly secure from any retribution that might be brought by the colonial armies. At this time there stretched between the Niagara frontier and the settlements along the Mohawk a vast region, inhabited only by powerful Indian tribes unfriendly to the people of the colonies.

Over the Indians of this region, as well as those to the west, the commander of Fort Niagara exercised a sort of judgeship; to him all Indian grievances were brought, through him all such disputes were settled, by him all decisions were enforced. It was the head center of the military life of the region.

The bands of Tories and Indians from Fort Niagara were thus enabled to raid the frontier settlements, perpetrating upon them the most unwonted cruelties, to plunder their villages and to return in perfect security to the protecting walls of the fort.

Once only were the bold raiders in danger of attack. Sullivan, in his raid upon the Senecas, came within eighty miles of the fort, but for want of provisions was obliged to turn back, leaving them to pursue their course unmolested.

Moreover, Fort Niagara was in direct communication with the British authorities in Canada, where Col. Haldimand, the zealous and adroit commander, was exerting every effort to crush out the spirit of liberty in the colonies. The fort, therefore, naturally

became the headquarters of the bands of Indians and Tories who came down from Canada.

But location was by no means the only advantage that the British had in connection with Fort Niagara. The intelligence, sagacity and military ability of the men who gathered about it would have rendered almost any spot formidable.

Just prior to the Revolution Joseph Brant, the great captain of the Six Nations, had led a body of Mohawks to Lewiston, within seven miles of the fort, where he lived in a block house surrounded by his followers. John Butler and his son Walter, who welded together a great army of Tories, recruited from all parts of the country into a merciless band, known as Butler's Rangers, made Fort Niagara their rendezvous. Thither also came the two sons of Sir William Johnson and a vast concourse of loyalists from New York and Pennsylvania, burning with hatred at the treatment they had received from the hands of their colonial neighbors.

"Fort Niagara was the scene of great activities during these days, indeed, during the whole war. About five thousand Indians had assembled about the fort. Expeditions, large and small, were ever on the move, without cessation winter or summer. As many as five or six Indian war parties were sometimes out at the same time in different directions, while the Rangers and other Loyalists in companies of partisans kept the country of frontiers in constant alarm."

Thus swarming with Loyalists, aided by Canada, secure from all attacks and controlling the gateway of the South and West, Fort Niagara naturally became the one place upon the western frontier from whence the raiding expeditions started. Here were planned the fearful massacres at Wyoming in Pennsylvania and the equally cruel and barbarous raid upon Cherry Valley, as well as those upon the distant settlements along the Mohawk.

It may be interesting to note two widely varying accounts of the social conditions at Fort Niagara during this period. The first is from the "Annals of Niagara," written by William Kirby, F. R. S. C." Men of a superior station of life in the old colonies ha-

formed a very large proportion of the exiled Loyalists. Most of them had served in the ranks of the Colonial regiments, which took a distinguished part in the war for the United Empire. Every one of them had a military bearing and an air of dignity and kindly spirit of comradeship, derived from dangers and triumphs which they had shared together. But this was to be expected. The men of position with wealth, culture and learning, were generally opposed to the rebellion. Literature disappeared for two generations after the revolution. The best and almost the only writers in the Colonies were among the exiles. In art and science it was the same. The names of Governor Hutchinson, Smith, West, Murray and Count Rumsey were not paralleled by their opponents. Franklin was the cynosure of the rebellion, and Jefferson hired the renegade Englishman Paine to write up the Declaration of Independence and to write down the religion and the sacred scriptures as friends of man.

None of Paine's admirers in politics or unbelief had a hand in the settlement of Canada by the Loyalists. They had tried to forestall it, and failed utterly and miserably in the attack on Quebec, with the death of Montgomery, 31st of December, 1775.

The ladies who gave tone to polite society in Niagara and spread refinement and good manners to the rest of the Provinces were honored with the chivalrous devotion and respect of the U. E. Loyalists. The women were worthy of the men—no higher eulogium need to be said of them.

The other from the pen of DeVeaux: "During the American Revolution it was the headquarters of all that was barbarous, unrelenting and cruel. Here were congregated the leaders and chiefs of those bands of murderers and miscreants that carried death and destruction into the remote American settlement.

"There civilized Europe revelled with savage America, and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those whose only distinction was to wield the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife. There the squaws of the forest were raised to eminence, and the most unholy unions between them and officers of highest rank smiled upon and countenanced.

"There in their stronghold, like a nest of vultures, securely for seven years, they sallied forth and preyed upon the distant settlements of the Mohawk and the Susquehanna. It was the depot for plunder; there they planned their forays, and there they returned to feast until the hour of action came again."

Niagara was one of the forts held by the British until the conditions of the treaty of 1783 should be fulfilled. After the Revolution, therefore, there came the thirteen years known as the hold-over period. The Americans took formal possession of the fort in 1796.

JOSEPH BRANT AND HIS RAIDS.

BY WILLIAM L. STONE.

Joseph Brant (Tha-yen-da-ne-gea), a Mohawk Chief, was born on the banks of the Ohio. His father was a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Tribe, and a son of one of the five Sachems that excited so much attention at the Court of Queen Anne in 1710. Brant was a favorite of Sir William Johnson, by whom he was sent for a year to the Moor Charity School, then under the charge of Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, and which subsequently became under the patronage of Lord Dartmouth, the founder of Dartmouth College. He was present at the Battle of Lake George in 1755 when but thirteen years of age; accompanied Sir William Johnson during the Niagara campaign in 1759, when he acquitted himself with distinguished bravery. He was also in Pontiac's War in 1763, and when in 1774 Guy Johnson succeeded to the Superintendency of Indian Affairs on the death of his uncle, Sir William, the former pupil of Dr. Wheelock was made his secretary. During the Revolutionary War he was constantly employed by Gov. (Gen.) Carleton in fierce raids against the Colonists, taking an active part in the massacre at Cherry Valley and in the one that desolated Minisink in July, 1779 (an account of which will be given in this paper later). He also led a clan of the Hurons and a few of the Six Nations in the Expedition of Col. St. Leger against Fort Stanwix, bearing a prominent part in the battle of Oriskany, August 6th, 1779. He was also present at the time of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga on October 17, 1777. After the war his influence with the different Indian tribes was thrown on the side of peace, materially assisting the Indian Commissioners in securing a treaty of peace in 1793 between the Miamis and the United States. During the latter years of his life he was a consistent believer in evangelical Christianity. He visited England in 1786 and raised the funds with which the

First Episcopal Church in Upper Canada was built. He translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language, and, together with Daniel Claus, rendered into the same tongue the "Book of Common Prayer." His humanity toward a captive or fallen foe is too well established to admit of doubt; nor has the purity of his private morals ever been questioned.

BRANT'S RAIDS.

Regarding the Wyoming Massacre (1778), in which Brant's name has been so associated, a correction regarding the name and the just fame of Brant, whose character in this transaction has been blackened with all the infamy both real and imaginary, connected with this blody expedition, is in order. Whether Brant was at any time in company with this expedition is doubtful; but it is certain in the face of every historical authority, British and American, that so far from being engaged in the battle, he was many miles distant at the time of its occurrence. Such has been the uniform testimony of the British officers engaged in that expedition, and such was the word of Thayendanegea himself after the publication of Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," in which poem the Mohawk Chieftain was denounced as "the Monster Brant." His son in a correspondence with the poet successfully vindicated his father's memory from the calumny.

Regarding the massacre at "Cherry Valley," Brant does not appear to have been among the chief originators of it; and it is believed that Butler, after his return from Niagara, was its chief instigator. The point for this raid (1778) was Cherry Valley—a settlement as remarkable for the respectability of its inhabitants as its location was for its beauty. On the 10th, 1777, Butler, with his rangers and Brant with his Indians, encamped for the night on the top of a hill about a mile southwest of the fort and village of Cherry Valley. The officers of the garrison were accustomed to lodge among the families near the fort, and from the assurances of Col. Allen (in command) the apprehensions of the people were so much allayed that all were reposing in perfect security. The enemy, however, approached the unsuspecting village in the great-

est secrecy, and the Indians springing forward in their attack bore all before them—the Senecas being at this period the most ferocious of the Six Nations were in the van. The house of Mr. Wells was instantly surrounded by the warriors of that tribe, and the whole family, consisting of himself, his mother, his wife, his brother and sister, John and Jane, three of his sons and a daughter slain. The only survivor of this massacre was John, who was then at school in Schenectady.

The destruction of the family of Mr. Wells was marked by circumstances of peculiar barbarity. It was boasted by one of the Tories that he had killed Mr. Wells while engaged in prayer—certainly a happy moment for a soul to wing its flight to another state of existence!

The fort was repeatedly assaulted during the day, but Indians are not the right troops for such service, and being received with a brisk fire of muskets from the garrison, they avoided the fort and directed their attention chiefly to plundering and laying waste the village, having satisfied themselves in the onset with blood. In this work of destruction they were unmolested, since, numbering more than twice as many as the garrison, a sortie was felt to be unwarrantable.

Thus terminated the Expedition of Walter N. Butler and Joseph Brant in Cherry Valley. Nothing could exhibit an aspect of more entire desolation than did the site of the village on the following day when the militia from the Mohawk arrived too late to afford assistance. The inhabitants who escaped the massacre and those who returned from captivity abandoned the settlement (notwithstanding their fort, which had so cowardly done so little for them) until the return of peace should enable them to plant themselves down once more to safety, and in the succeeding summer the garrison was withdrawn and the post abandoned.

Regarding the Ulster raid of Brant at Minisink there is no need to dwell on the atrocities committed by the Indians and Butler's Rogers. On the 4th of May, 1779, four dwelling houses and five barns were burned by them; six of the inhabitants were murdered (butchered would be the more appropriate term), besides six more

who were burned in their houses. Again, on the 20th of July, the Mohawk Chief again attacked the town, with twenty-seven Tory warriors, disguised as Indians—a very common practice with the Loyalists when acting with the savages. Such was the silence of their approach that several houses were already in flames when the inhabitants awoke to their situation. Ten houses and twelve barns were burned, together with a small blockade fort and two mills. Many persons were killed and others taken prisoners. The farms of the settlement were laid waste, the cattle driven away, and all the booty carried off which the invaders could remove. Having thus succeeded in his immediate object, Brant lost no time in leading his party back to the main body of his warriors, whom he had left at Grassy Brook.

Brant has been severely censured for the cruelties perpetrated, or alleged to have been perpetrated, in this raid in Minisink. He always maintained that he had been unjustly blamed, and that his conduct had been the subject of unjust reproach. He also stated that on the approach of the Americans to aid the garrison he presented himself openly and fairly to their view—advanced himself to the commanding officer and demanded the surrender of the garrison—promising at the same time to treat them kindly as prisoners of war. But he said that while he was thus parleying with them he was fired upon and narrowly escaped being shot down, the ball piercing the outer fold of his belt. Immediately upon receiving the shot he retired and secreted himself among his warriors. The militia, emboldened by his disappearance, rushed forward heedlessly until they were completely in his power. In crossing a creek they broke their order, and before they could form again Brant gave the well known signal of the war-whoop. Quick as the lightning's flash his dark cloud of warriors were upon their feet. They sprang forward, tomahawk in hand. The conflict was fierce and bloody; few escaped and several of the prisoners were killed. There was one who during the battle saved himself by means which Brant said were dishonorable. By some process or other, though not a Free Mason, he had acquired a knowledge of the Master Mason's grand hailing signal of distress, and having

been informed that Brant was a member of the brotherhood, he gave the mystic sign. Faithful to his pledge, the chieftain interfered and saved his life. Discovering the imposture afterward, he was very indignant. Still, he spared his life, and the prisoner ultimately returned to his friends after a long captivity.

In the Battle of Minisink Henry Wisner lost his youngest son. His fate was long unknown, but there is an interesting account of this in Stone's "Life of Brant," showing how Brant tomahawked him after the battle. At the same time, it is only fair to say that Brant always denied this, and in view of Brant's humanity, his statement should have due credence.

To win Minisink by a rapid movement, Brant fell upon a settlement on the south side of the Mohawk, where on the 2d of August (1779) he made a few prisoners—the name of one of whom was Huese. As Huese became too lame to continue the journey on foot, the Indians proposed killing him. To this Brant objected, and having been acquainted with Huese before the war, he released him on condition of his taking an oath of neutrality, which was written by the Chief in the Indian language. (MS. letter of Gen. Jas. Clinton to Gov. Clinton, his brother, in the writer's possession.)

With this account of the Raid in Minisink, I close the different relations of Brant in the Revolution. He was, as we have seen, much more sinned against than sinning, and I believe that, except for particular emergencies, over which he had no control, he was not only a kind and humane man, but one who ever endeavored, to the best of his ability, to save his captives from the horrible results of war. At least, this is my father's and my own candid opinion, founded on many manuscript documents and original authorities in my possession.

THE RAIDS IN TRYON COUNTY.

BY S. L. FREY, PALATINE BRIDGE, N. Y.

It is beyond question that Tryon County suffered more of the horrors of the Revolutionary struggle than any section of the Thirteen Colonies.

This is apparent to the most casual student of the history of that time; but the reasons will not be obvious unless we consider the peculiar topography of the Mohawk Valley, its remoteness as a frontier, its settlers, the great influence of the Johnson family, and the presence of the Mohawk Indians.

These were the factors that made the many raids that laid waste Tryon County, so cruel, unavoidable and easy of accomplishment.

The deep depression through which the Mohawk River runs is one of the remarkable topographical and geological features of the State.

At a point two hundred miles from the ocean, where the river is but three hundred feet above the sea level, the land rises to the south and the north so rapidly that at a distance of twelve or fourteen miles there are hills three thousand feet high; so that in reality the Mohawk River flows at the bottom of a canyon two thousand or more feet deep and twenty-five miles wide. The immediate valley, however, is very narrow, being nearly closed at two points.

This narrow valley that has been cut through the Appalachian Chain by the erosive power of ice and water is of such easy grade that it has always been a highway from the ocean to the interior.

The Indians used it time out of mind in war and peace, and the white man saw its advantages and used it for purposes of trade and exploration.

Permanent settlers would have occupied it much sooner, if they had not been held back by the fierce and warlike Mohawks, whose heritage it was, and who looked with no favor upon the white

settler. Traders were welcome enough to pass through and to visit their villages, in fact they soon became necessary to supply the many new and artificial wants that the Indians acquired from the white man. But when it came to permanent settlers, that was a far different matter, and so for a hundred years they held back the white man, who looked with longing eyes upon the fair flat meadows and the noble forests along the River of the Mohawks.

But in the early years of the eighteenth century the Mohawks had become weakened and demoralized by intercourse with unscrupulous white men. They were an astute and intellectual race of savages, but they were no match for the land speculators, those wealthy and influential gentlemen of the Province, whose ambition it was to own the earth.

Thus it came about that by the year 1770 the Mohawks had parted with all their land except a few acres around their two small villages.

Some great tracts they had sold for a few duffles and strouds and barrels of beer, and more or less rum, but the most of their beautiful land was taken from them by ways that were dark and tricks that were vain.

When they began to realize this they were naturally exasperated, and were in a state of mind that made them exceedingly dangerous to the settlers who had by this time occupied the entire length of the valley.

The rest of the Iroquois, fearing a like fate, had insisted that a boundary line should be established, beyond which no white man would dare to go.

In answer to this persistent demand, a great council met at Fort Stanwix, to which thousands came from all the Cantons of the Confederacy, and over which Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, presided.

There was the usual prolix and interminable talk, in all of which could be discovered the smothered wrath of the Indians against the whites.

But a treaty was finally concluded, a solemn treaty, establishing a line that was to be inviolable forever, binding on white man and Indian alike.

This line defined the western bounds of the Colony of New York; west of that line was the "Territory of the Six Nations."

This "Old Boundary Line" ran from a point near Deposit, up the Unadilla River to its source, and on in a straight line to Fort Bull, near Oneida Lake. It was known as the old "Treaty Line of 1768," and four years afterward, when Tryon County was formed, its western bounds were the same.

It was conceded and well understood by the Colonial Government that to the west of this line no settlements could be made.

But notwithstanding this solemn agreement, the restless and irresponsible settlers along the border soon began to trespass on the land west of the line. They hunted and fished; they cut timber and even cleared land and planted crops. This increased the animosity of the Indians, and it was only Sir William Johnson's firm and conciliatory policy that kept them from open war.

It was but natural then that in any war they would seek for revenge against the settlers. If there had been no Revolution, and if there had been no Johnson or Butler, it is probable that the settlers of Tryon County would have been involved in an Indian War, which would, however, have lacked the added horrors of the fratracidal strife, which were such cruel and disgraceful features of the Revolutionary struggle.

Other enemies that threatened Tryon County came from beyond the lakes. Indians and French of Canada, and last British troops and Tory Rangers. The Mohawk Valley was the easy road into the heart of New York. This had been so clearly recognized by the Government of the Colony that when Queen Anne's Palatines came to be located they were pushed up to the most western point in the valley, with the avowed purpose of making them a barrier, a buffet, a protection for Albany and New York. That they were such a protection, and that they took the full force of the frontier strife, was abundantly proved in the French Wars and in the Revolution.

Another danger as serious as any, came from the foes in their own household; those whom they called Tories, known to themselves and their admiring friends as "United Empire Loyalists."

About these men much has been said. They were loathed and feared and abhorred by their patriot neighbors, and they have been

defended and praised and admired by writers in Canada and even in New York. It suffices for us to know that in cruelty and in deeds of ruthless destruction, they exceeded the Mohawks.

Such then was the situation in the Mohawk Valley when the first rumblings of the war began.

Tryon County extended north of the river a few miles; to the south, it included Cherry Valley, Harpersfield, Newtown, Martin and other small outlying settlements east of the old Treaty Line of 1768; but the most thickly settled parts of its five districts of Mohawk, Palatine, Canajoharie, Kingsland and German Flats lay immediately on the river along the highways that ran upon its banks. This section of Tryon County was quite thickly settled by a sturdy liberty loving people—Germans, Hollanders, Swiss, English, Scotch. They were mostly farmers, with a few mechanics, doctors, traders and clergymen.

They differed, as we have seen, about the questions of the hour, and this brought disruption into many families, but the majority were outspoken in their support of the Patriot Cause, and it is well to remember, and to repeat with emphasis, that as early as August, 1774, there was formed in the Palatine District a Committee of Safety, which passed a set of resolutions not exceeded in any of the Thirteen Colonies for force, bravery and devotion to liberty. They were determined, they said, "to be free or die."

And that this was no empty boast was abundantly proved by the results of the war, for at its close there were two thousand widows and orphan children; twelve hundred desolated farms and the smoldering ruins of hundreds of houses, barns, mills and churches. Truly Tryon County had been the buffer that saved Albany, New York and New England.

This first meeting of the Tryon County Committee of Safety antedated by a whole year Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. There were few committees formed at an earlier date and few which passed such stirring resolutions, and none formed anywhere whose members so actually took their lives in their hands as did these brave patriots of Tryon County. The loss and suffering they endured is but little known to the general historian; the justice and credit they deserve has been long withheld, and the graves of the most of them are unknown and unmarked.

SCHOHARIE IN THE BORDER WARFARE OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY ALFRED W. ABRAMS, PH. B., ILION, N. Y.

THE SCHOHARIE PEOPLE.

The Palatines who were located at the Camps on the Hudson in 1711 were much dissatisfied with their treatment and their prospects. They longed for the promised land of Schorie." Deputies were accordingly sent out to survey the land. Proceeding by the way of Albany over the Helderbergs, they came upon the Schoharie Valley at its most attractive section. The view of it from the eastern hills captivated the prospectors. The report they gave on their return put new heart into the Palatines, and within a few years many of these Germans were located in seven different farmer settlements, or dorfs, along the alluvial borders of the Schoharie Creek. It has been commonly stated that there were 600 or 700 of these first settlers, but the number must have been much smaller than this. Nor could the settlement have been made so early as 1711, the date usually given. The first of the settlements was not made before 1713. The seven dorfs are known to have existed as early as 1730.

Very soon afterward the Dutch began to settle this valley. The first party, coming from Schenectady under Adam Vrooman, occupied territory farther up the stream, which took the name Vrooman's Land.

At first the people of these two nationalities lived apart from each other. They did not intermarry. Considerable bad feeling was engendered by their disputes over land titles, and one party was not unwilling to prejudice the Indians against the other. The Dutch kept slaves, while the Germans were unable to do so. The Dutch in general possessed more wealth and influence. Partly for this reason and partly because the Germans were known as High

Dutch, the term Schoharie Dutch came to be generally used, although Hollanders probably never constituted more than one-third of the population.

Down to the Revolution community life here was quite uneventful. These settlements, the civil officers of which were all named in Albany, and which were "without even the privilege of a supervisor" until about 1765, did not play an active part in the general affairs of the Colonies, though they were surely of service in the last inter-colonial war by furnishing soldiers and provisions. The people, though quite unlettered, were sober, industrious and persistent. The soil yielded very abundantly a large variety of crops. The settlements were prosperous and happy. When the Border Wars laid waste this rich valley, substantial stone and frame houses had almost wholly replaced the rude structures of earlier days.

THE GEOGRAPHY.

It is important to have in mind the geographical position of these settlements. Rising in the Catskills, the Schoharie River flows in a northerly direction nearly parallel to the Hudson for a distance of seventy miles and empties into the Mohawk at Fort Hunter, thirty-six miles west of Albany. The earliest Schoharie settlements began twenty miles from the mouth of the stream and extended south a distance of fifteen miles. Near the uppermost settlements two streams flow into the Schoharie from the west, which take their rise near the head waters of the Charlotte, that highway between the Schoharie and the Susquehanna along which scores of prisoners began their long and distressing journey to Niagara. The Cobleskill and the Schenevus Creeks likewise furnished a convenient route between these two rivers. A branch of the Cobleskill takes its rise near Cherry Valley.

It is thus to be seen that in the days when the paths through the wilderness largely followed the waterways, the Schoharie settlements were closely connected with other localities which were likewise the scenes of the most atrocious deeds of the Revolution. Time and again hostile forces moved along these streams between the Schoharie settlements and the Susquehanna, and these paths during all those years of savage warfare were seldom free from lurking

Indians and Tories. It is important to note that all the attacks and inroads upon the Schoharie Valley were made from the Susquehanna and not from the Mohawk.

WHIGS AND LOYALISTS.

When armed resistance to the authority of England was first made by the Thirteen American Colonies, probably the majority of the inhabitants of the Schoharie Valley were in sympathy with the course pursued. They surely owed little to the Englishmen, who had brought them to America and ruled over them. But not a few from the first considered it a matter of duty and of wisdom to support the established government. Later as the question of allegiance was forced home to every one very many openly or secretly espoused the royal cause.

For some time after the bold and successful strokes with which the Colonists opened the war the situation was dark and unpromising. Washington's army was being driven from one place to another. Burgoyne's approach was spreading terror and dismay everywhere. Most of the Indians who hung upon the border of the settlements ready to deal misery and destruction, were known to be entirely under the influence of the Johnsons, and were understood to be pledged to the British cause. New York State had withheld her approbation of the proceedings of the Congress of 1774. The people of the lower Mohawk were particularly active in diverting the revolutionary spirit. Just as the Second Congress was to assemble, the Loyalists of Tryon County made a demonstration against the proceedings of the previous Congress. Men of means foresaw in war the destruction of their property. Is it any wonder men hesitated or refused to join in revolution? What protection could these frontier settlements hope for from a revolutionary government that seemed unable to support itself and was giving them little or no protection?

Yet throughout New England and the Colonies generally the fires of revolution were burning fiercely. Bold and often reckless acts were being performed to overthrow British rule. Ready orators were inflaming the people. The line between adherents and opponents was being sharply drawn. When Dominie Schuyler at Scho-

harie ceased to pray for the King every one noted the fact. Under such circumstances it may often have required quite as manly qualities to stand for the old order as to take up arms for the new. Had the Loyalists merely supported their King in open warfare, we might even admire the stand they took in a losing contest and might sympathize with them in the losses they sustained, but their wanton destruction of property and heartless murder of former neighbors and near relatives have made the name Tory a term to shudder at.

The animosities of Whigs and Tories have passed away. We gladly cast the mantle of Christian charity over their inhuman treatment of each other. But the student who would understand the period must have in mind the nature of the warfare and how the Revolution divided the people. "The members of almost every family of distinction in the Schoharie settlements were found in hostile array, as father against son, brother against brother." Johannes Ball was chairman of the Committee of Safety throughout its organization, but he had a son who was a Tory leader. Jacob Ball, a brother, raised a company of sixty-three Royalists at Beverdam and Duanesburgh and went to Canada. But there were some notable exceptions to the general statement of Simms above quoted. Sometimes a whole family actively espoused one side or the other. Some settlements were strongly loyal, while others warmly supported revolution.

A few men became especially notorious as Tories. George Mann, a captain of the militia, when ordered out, declared openly for the King. He was finally placed under arrest, but his property was not confiscated. Like many others, Mann probably would have preferred to remain neutral. This was impossible, and the prevailing influences held him to the King's cause. Adam Crysler, a wealthy farmer, who had been made ensign in a military company in 1768, and as such had taken a special oath of allegiance to the King, and also his brother at New Dorlach, were most active and inhuman Tories throughout the war.

The official correspondence of the Schoharie Committee of Safety indicates what a lack of general support the new govern-

ment had in the first years of the war. Early in 1777 the committee had "great reason to fear the breaking up of the settlement of Schoharie" unless their efforts could be seconded by those of the State.

Under date of July 17, 1777, Johannes Ball, as chairman of the Committee of Safety, wrote the council at Kingston as follows: "The late advantage gained over us by the enemy has much effect upon members here, that many we thought steady friends draw back. All our frontier settlers, except those that are to take protection from the enemy, are gone, so that we are entirely open to the Indians and Tories, which we expect every hour to come to this settlement. Part of our militia is at Fort Edward, the few that are here many of them are unwilling to take up arms to defend themselves, as they are not able to stand against so great a number of declared enemies, who speak openly without any reserve."

On July 22 the committee wrote General Schuyler that "nearly one-half of the people heretofore well disposed have laid down their arms and propose to side with the enemy."

From Schoharie, as from every other settlement on the frontier, the most urgent appeals were repeatedly sent to those in authority for speedy protection, which was tardily and as a rule inadequately furnished. It is not surprising that the people were often panic stricken. In the end every settlement in the Schoharie and the Mohawk valleys was destroyed or suffered severely.

Nevertheless, there were not wanting in Schoharie as elsewhere stout hearts to take up and push forward the cause of liberty. To mention the names of the many deserving men who staked all for the protection of home and the success of the Revolution is impossible here, but from the first the Whigs were active and were soon in undisputed control in the valley. As early as January 24, 1775, two delegates were sent to a meeting held in Albany to determine future action. Both of them stood for resistance. In April, 1775, a Committee of Safety was formed. In October of this year three companies of militia were organized for Schoharie and Duanesburgh. Three forts were constructed by the people with the aid of the government. The middle fort was erected in the fall of

1777; the upper and the lower ones were completed during the summer following. None of these was ever taken. While they could not protect crops and buildings, they were the means of saving many lives. Much of the rich harvests of this valley went to supply men and animals of the regular army with food. Not a few of the people were engaged in hauling produce, guns and ammunition to Ticonderoga, Fort Edward and Saratoga. Guy Johnson in a letter to Lord George Germain, dated September 10, 1778, shows that the "rebels had derived great resources from this section."

McDONALD'S DEMONSTRATION.

Undoubtedly the agents of the English Government by promises, threats and demonstrations, made vigorous and persistent efforts during the early years of the war to secure the support of as many persons as possible. An early invasion of the Schoharie appears to have had this as its principal object. Captain McDonald was a noted Scotch Tory, who had resided for some time on the Charlotte and had been very active and effective in the royal cause. August 9, 1777, he appeared on the Schoharie River above Breakabeen with a force of men and "marched up and down the road." Henry Hager, over seventy years of age, the only Whig in the neighborhood at the time, with much difficulty got word to the patriots nine miles below at the Becker house in the middle settlement. The people were greatly alarmed. Aid was sought from Albany. It was on this occasion Colonel Harper made his well known ride to Albany and brought back a troop of cavalry.

About the conduct of Colonel Vrooman at this time, the date of the occurrence and the number of men engaged on each side there has been considerable misunderstanding. Although most of the early writers and some of the more recent ones accuse Colonel Vrooman of weakness and indecision, the charge seems wholly unsupported by evidence. He continued in command of the local forces through the war when a ranking officer was not present. He seems to have had at all times the confidence of the people, and certainly rendered the settlements and the cause of liberty valuable service.

Many evidences point to the year 1777 as the correct date, rather

than 1778, the one given by both Campbell and Stone. Each side over estimated the strength of the other. Instead of two hundred men coming from Albany, there was but a very small company. McDonald's force has been incorrectly reported as three hundred. Adam Crysler had been in communication with McDonald for weeks and was a party to this invasion. In an official report to the British government made in 1781, he says that he had maintained all the Indians in Schoharie, in number twenty-five, from March to August 10, and had recruited for the government seventy men, and that McDonald joined them August 9 (1777) with twenty-eight men from the Charlotte. This would make the total number not to exceed one hundred and twenty-three. The cavalry from Albany, joined with the local militia, made a Whig force of about one hundred.

This latter body of men proceeded up the valley. On their approach McDonald, who had gone down the river about four miles, retreated to Crysler's house, where a stand was made. A brief engagement followed in which some lives were lost, after which the invaders withdrew and went to Oswego. Crysler went with McDonald, as did several of his recruits. Thirty-five, who had been detached to intercept the Whigs, were dispersed. Some others, who had reluctantly joined his standard, were encouraged by the presence of regular troops to remain loyal to the Whigs. Little if any property was destroyed by McDonald's men. The statements that they acted with "barbary and exterminating rage" and that they "destroyed everything on which they could lay their hands" seem to be incorrect.

The effect of the invasion upon the settlements was most wholesome. From this time on conditions began to mend so far as the Tories are concerned. The people had seen a hostile force actually repelled. Success was also attending the regular army in the north. The Whigs came into full power throughout the valley. The central authorities of the State by this time had given some sound direction concerning the proper treatment of disaffected persons. Hereafter every resident was forced to swear allegiance to the Continental Congress or leave the territory. The new govern-

ment came better to understand the exposed situation of these settlements, and put forth greater effort to protect them.

COBLESKILL DESTROYED.

Twenty-five years before the war began several German families, most of them from Schoharie, settled at Cobleskill on the rich flats along the creek of the same name. In 1778 this settlement contained twenty families spread out along the stream for a distance of three miles. No fortifications were erected at first, but Captain Christian Brown commanded a local military organization of twenty or more men. Late in May the appearance of straggling Indians led Captain Brown to apply to the settlements on the Schoharie for assistance. Thirty or forty regulars under Captain Patrick responded.

The settlement was thus protected when on May 30, 1778, Brant, who had just reconnoitered Cherry Valley, appeared with a force of Tories and Seneca, Schoharie and Oquaga Indians. The number of the enemy is variously reported from 150 to 450. Fifteen or twenty Indians appeared before the southern most residence, where George Warner lived. Captain Patrick's want of discretion allowed the little company of defenders pursuing the Indians too far into the woods, to be drawn into the net that was set for them. Nearly one-half of the men under his command were killed in battle or by the burning of the Warner house, not, however, until considerable punishment had been inflicted upon the enemy and the inhabitants had made good their escape into the woods or to Schoharie, ten miles away. Colonel Wemple reported June 6 that he had buried the dead, "which was fourteen in number," and "found five more burnt in the ruins" of the Warner house. "They were butchered in the most inhuman manner." Horses, cows and sheep lay dead all over the fields." "Ten houses and barns were burned." Simms gives the names of the owners of ten dwellings that were burned aside from the barns. The upper part of Cobleskill, which lay to the west of the present village, was thus laid in ruins. During the succeeding year the people of this settlement suffered much from destitution, and the State distributed a "donation" of "two hundred pounds."

Stone, in his life of Brant, mentions two engagements at Cobleskill, one occurring in July, Colonel Brown in command of the militia; the other June 1, Colonel Patrick commanding. The chronological order is not observed in his narrative. According to the author's foot note, his account of the second engagement was based on a paper of General Gansevoort, discovered after the preceding chapters were in print. There was doubtless but one attack upon Cobleskill during the earlier period of the war.

There has been much misunderstanding also as to both the year and the day of the attack. Four early writers of note make conflicting statements on these points. The report of the affair made to General Stark on the night of its occurrence, dated May 30, and published in the "Public Papers of George Clinton," Vol. III, page 377, together with the accompanying note by the State Historian, Hugh Hastings, must be taken as settling the date to be May 30, 1778.

The year before this the Indians had suffered severely at Oriskany. Stung by the defeat of their purposes in the upper Mohawk and urged on by British and by Tory leaders, they became very active in 1778. Cobleskill was the first settlement to suffer. During the next five months Springfield, Wyoming, German Flats and Cherry Valley were laid in ruins.

INVASION BY JOHNSON AND BRANT.

From the time of the destruction of Cobleskill till the summer of 1780 Schoharie did not suffer severely from the enemy. Sullivan's successful campaign in the heart of the Indian territory in 1779 had for a time put the Indians on the defensive. But it also further embittered them against the people, who were destroying their villages and driving them from their lands.

As early as August, 1780, Crysler, according to his own official report, led a party of Oneida Indians into Vrooman's land, "took five scalps, two prisoners and burnt some houses and barns." The upper settlement had not recovered from this blow when in October of the same year the main incursion of all this period was made. Sir John Johnson and Brant with a force of at least eight hundred regulars, Tories and Indians, perhaps nearly twice that number,

proceeding by the usual route along the Susquehanna and the Charlotte, reached the Schoharie October 16. At daybreak the next morning the upper fort, which was defended by about one hundred men, was already passed by Johnson when his presence was discovered. Immediately the alarm was sounded throughout the valley, whereupon the invaders began to destroy all the property in their way as they proceeded to the middle fort.

From eight o'clock to three o'clock that day they invested this defense. The cowardice of Major Woolsey, who was in command, the vigorous action of Colonel Vrooman, upon whom the command fell when the soldiers refused to obey Major Woolsey, and the bold conduct of Timothy Murphy, when on three occasions a party of the enemy advanced with a flag of truce, doubtless for the sole purpose of ascertaining the strength of the fort, have been too often told to need repeating here. Late in the afternoon Johnson formed his men as if about to make an assault, but suddenly withdrew, dividing his force and passing on both sides of the lower fort without making any vigorous effort to take it.

The old stone church, which stood within this fortification, is still standing, and is known as the Old Stone Fort. It is carefully preserved at the county's expense and contains the valuable collection of the Schoharie County Historical Society, under the charge of Henry Cady, a man thoroughly familiar with the early history of the county.

At the forts but two persons were killed. The number of the inhabitants killed that day is given by some writers as one hundred. I do not find in the official reports any reference to the slain. Simms says, "The citizens lodged at the garrisons, and the movement of the hostiles commencing thus early no individuals were found in their dwelling houses, except such as were either tinctured with royalty or chose to brave the coming dangers to save their property." The number of killed was probably small.

The purpose of the invasion may have been not to slay but to destroy. Unable to conquer the Americans in the field, the English pillaged the rich Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys with the same military purpose that Sherman marched to the sea through the

Southern States. At any rate little of value was left but the bare land. Most of the buildings were consumed by flames. Stacks of hay and grain were burned. The sturdy inhabitants, after a long period of dread, anxiety and suffering, were now obliged to see go down in a few hours not only the products of their labor for the season but also the accumulations of years. With what feelings they realized when they looked out upon their desolated fields, that they must begin life all anew, we can scarcely picture to our minds! The actual work of destruction is charged chiefly to the Indians. As Johnson's forces proceeded toward the Mohawk to continue their ravages, the troops from the forts followed and joined those of Van Rensselaer.

How different would have been the results to the people of Schoharie if this invasion had occurred early in the war, when the settlements were still divided in sentiment and unprotected; how different the maintenance of the regular army to north and on the Hudson, if this source of supplies had been cut off four years before; how much of loss of life and property, how much of anguish and hardship might have been saved, if a considerable force had been maintained from the first along the head waters of the Susquehanna.

MINOR EVENTS AND PERSONAL DARING.

The picture of life in the years of this border warfare could be completed only by delineating the details of individuals and family escapes, sufferings and deeds of daring. Again and again a building was burned or plundered, or some member of a household was killed or carried away by an unseen foe. Frequently Timothy Murphy, Colonel Harper, David Elerson and many other patriots made a bold dash into the presence of the enemy and repaid in kind.

Late in 1781 a small party of Tories from New Rhinebeck, whose fields and dwellings had been frequently drawn upon by the militia and citizens of Cobleskill, retaliated by entering the latter settlement at an opportune time and burning buildings, driving away cattle, taking prisoners and killing at least one person. As late as

July 26, 1782, Tories and Indians made an attack upon the inhabitants of Fox's Creek.

At one time in 1778 a considerable force under Colonel William Butler, who was in command at Schoharie, made an aggressive move and, pushing down the Susquehanna, destroyed the Indian settlement at Oquaga, with the large quantities of corn it contained.

Some mention should be made of the experiences of the people of the western portion of New Dorlach. A number of families had early settled along the Westkill, a stream flowing into the Cobleskill, and when the war broke out were living in the quiet enjoyment of the fruits of their arduous labor. Three times the settlement was visited by small bands of the enemy. On one occasion all the members of the Hynds family were carried away, and it was several days before the other inhabitants knew of it. The day after the destruction of Schoharie a party of eighteen Indians and three Tories, led by Seths Henry and Philip Crysler, killed and scalped Michael Marckley and his niece, Catherine Marckley. The family of Sebastian France, a committeeman, also suffered severely on this occasion. Catherine Marckley was noted for her beauty and was soon to have been married to a son of Sebastian France. Her murder was most useless and is unpardonable. She was killed and scalped by Seths Henry himself. This man was the chief of the Schoharie Indians. This deed is characteristic of his acts throughout the war. He is said to have taken thirty-five scalps and forty prisoners.

The years which we are studying were hard times in which to live. But who of all the noble company of those who suffered then for freedom of thought and individual rights would count that struggle lost if they could behold our country today and pass in review a century and a quarter of its history.

MINISINK

BY THEODORE D. SCHOONMAKER, GOSHEN, N. Y.

I.—ITS BOUNDARIES.

It is pretty difficult at this late day to describe exactly by meets and bounds just what amount of territory was comprised in the term "Minisink."

In general terms, it was a portion of our country extending from the Delaware Water Gap, on either side of the Delaware River in a northerly direction for about forty or fifty miles to Cocheaton, covering a considerable land in the Townships of Montague, Sandyston and Waalpack, Sussex County, N.J.,—what is now known as the Town of Deerpark, in Orange County, and taking in a part of Sullivan County, and which last mentioned strip comprises part of the Towns of Lumberland, Forestburgh and Mamakating,—and also part of the Counties of Pike and Monroe, Pennsylvania, which bordered on the Delaware River.

The New York State white people claimed that the southern boundary line was from the Water Gap east to the Station on the Hudson River, which included the present Village of Deckertown, Sussex County, N. J., while the New Jersey white people claimed that the line ran from Cocheeton to the same Station on the Hudson, and included Edenville, in the Town of Warwick, Orange County. The Minisink Patent granted by Queen Anne in the year 1703, ran from Big Minisink Island, in the Delaware River, about three miles below Port Jervis, in the County of Orange, to the same Station on the Hudson for its southern line.

The "Station on the Hudson" above referred to is known as "The Highlands of the Hudson"—no distinct locality, but just that general designation, which would be the High Lands below the City of Newburgh.

This extensive territory had been acquired by treaty, so that the

Delaware Tribes of Indians had really no quarrel with the whites, only as they were urged and coaxed on by the British and Tories. What were called Pomptons claimed certain lands in New Jersey, and were treated with as "The Minsies," "Monseys" or "Minnissincks." The Minnissincks were a friendly tribe or clan of the Minsies or Wolf Tribe of the Delaware Nation. Their name described them as Backlanders, Uplanders or Highlanders. Their capital town was on what is called "Minnisinck Plains," in New Jersey, about eight miles south of Port Jervis, nearly opposite to Milford, a village in Pike County, Pa. Their town was palisaded and known to the Dutch as early as 1746. They were kindred of the Esopus Indians, but not associated with them in government. The territory which they occupied was called "The Minnissick Country." The Delaware River was called "The Minnissinck River" where it flowed through their territory. This Delaware River was named after Lord Delaware, and was by the Dutch generally called "Vishkill River," which in English means "Fish River." And it has to this day well sustained that name. Sometimes it was called by the Dutch "The South River" to distinguish it from the Hudson or "North River." The Indians residing along or near this river were called "The Delawares." There is another river in this region called "The Neversinck"—named, as I understand it, from the fact that its current is so swift that nothing will ever sink in it. The Indian name of this river was "Mahackmack." This river empties into the Delaware at Carpenter's Point, near Port Jervis, at the junction of which is a rock where the three States, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, join or meet. You can stand on that tri-States rock on one foot and be in the three different States.

From Eager's History of Orange County I glean several facts. The whole territory thus described was occupied by a tribe of Indians known as "Minquas," and this may properly be regarded as the original word from which the name "Minisink" was derived. "Minisink"—people living on a low tract of land from which the water had been drawn, alluding to the belief that the valley along the Delaware River occupied by them had once formed the bottom of a vast lake, from which the water had been drained, or had

escaped by breaking through the mountain at a place called now "The Delaware Water Gap." I am told that that there are even now evidences to the geologist along the sides of the mountains on both sides of the Delaware River to the north of the Water Gap, that the waters once rose to quite a height on their sides, and that the embankment where the Water Gap now is, to the height of two hundred feet, would flood the Delaware Valley or Minisink for over fifty miles.

The tradition of the Indians in this vicinity at the early settlement of the country was, that their nation had lived at Kittany, now called Blue Mountains, in Warren County, N. J., which means "Chief Town;" that there was a difficulty or disagreement of some kind, and that the discontented portion removed to the north side of the mountains and settled upon the low lands along the Delaware. It appears that from thirty to forty miles along both sides of the Delaware River were settled before New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania knew anything about it, and that they only found it out in 1729; that the settlers had been then so long there that they had apple trees larger than any near Philadelphia. For years "Minnising," in New Jersey, was the postoffice for all this region. The present town of Minisink, in Orange County, was only partially in this region. What is now known as the Towns of Minisink, Greenville and Mount Hope, Wawayanda and Goshen, was then the Precinct of Goshen. The present town of Minisink was settled by some of the inhabitants of Minisink coming across the mountains and settling in its present territory.

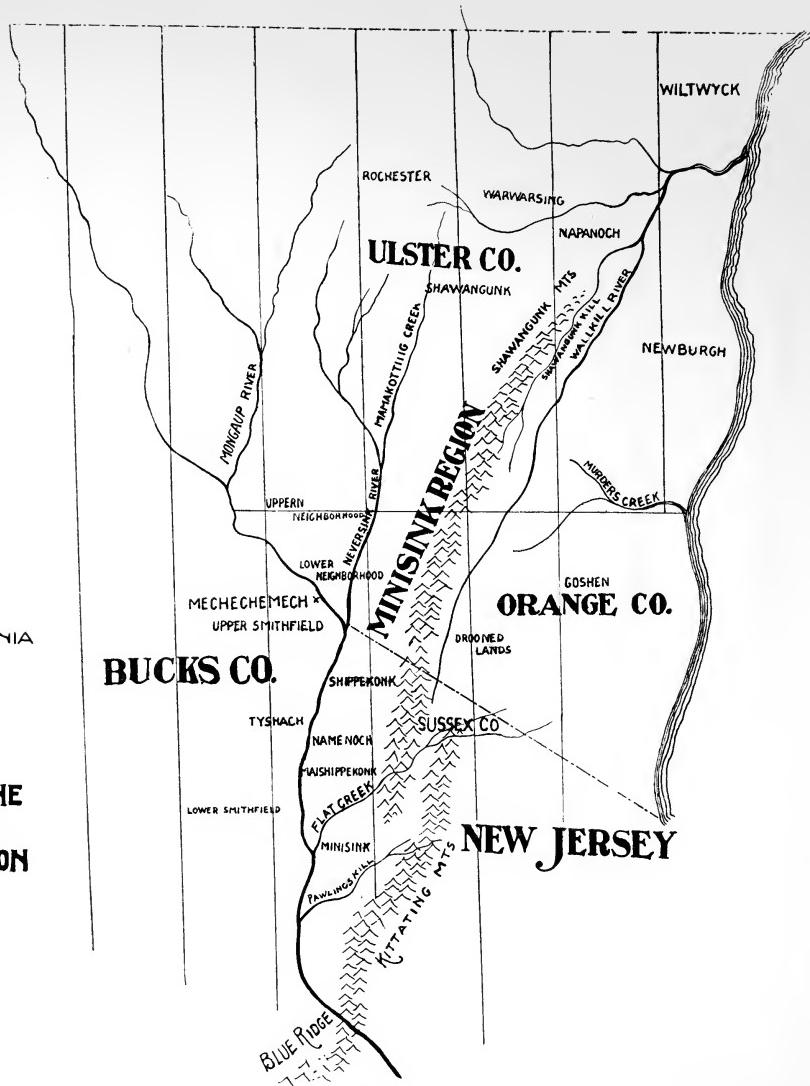
The settlement of the Minisink region began in 1689. Originally the north part was the most important; but before the Revolution the settlers in the lower part in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania outnumbered those in the New York portion.

Thus is traced the English formation of the word "Minsies" from the Dutch "Minquas" and then to its Indian name "Minisink." It was known by this last name in 1694, when that locality was visited by Arient Schuyler, the first white man that ever placed a foot in that region, recorded in authentic history. He was sent by Governor Fletcher, who then ruled over that Province by the Crown of England, to ascertain whether or not the French, who



MAP OF THE MINISINK REGION

PENNSYLVANIA



then occupied Canada and were continually warring with the English, had not sent emissaries among the Minisink Indians to bribe them to unite with the Canadian Indians to wage war to exterminate the people of New York.

I also glean from the same source that in 1730 an agent was appointed to go and look after the state of things at the settlement about Kittany, or Blue Mountains; that then Indian guides were hired, and that his agent and his helpers had great difficulty in getting their horses through the "Water Gap" to the Minisink Flats, which were then all settled with Hollanders; that then the best interpretation they could get of the word "Minisink" was "The water is gone." That there was then a good road from where the river was frozen to Esopus, near Kingston or Wiltwyck; that the first settlement in Minisink by the Hollanders was many years before William Penn's Charter; then when Nicholas Scull, the surveyor, was about to survey the country, an old Indian put his hand on his shoulder and said, "Put up iron string and go home." That this good road to Esopus was called "The Mine Road;" that when they endeavored to ascertain when and by whom this "Mine Road" was made, what ore they dug and how or whence the first settlers came in such great numbers as to take up all the flats on both sides of the river for forty miles, this traditional account was given: that in some former age there came a company of miners from Holland, who expended a great deal of labor in making that road for one hundred miles; that they were very rich in working the two mines, one on the Delaware, in Waalpack Township, Sussex County, N. J., and the other on the north foot of the mountain, half way from the Delaware to Esopus in what is now Mamakating, Sullivan County, N. Y.

In short, the entire valley, from what is now called Westbrookville, Orange County, on the north, on both sides the Neversink River, to the Delaware Water Gap on the south, on both sides the Delaware was "The Minisink Region" about 1770 to 1790, and is the territory meant by that name in dealing with Indian raids and massacres in this paper.

Thus much for its boundaries.

Attached hereto is a rough sketch of this valley as it was in 1771.

II.—INDIAN RAIDS AND MASSACRES ABOUT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION.

For years before the notorious Brant appeared, and at the time of his two invasions, hereinafter referred to, the Indians along the Delaware had become a terror to the inhabitants on both sides of the river, owing to the extended advances of the whites on their hunting ground above the forks of the two rivers, the Delaware and the Neversink, at Carpenter's Point, which, under the Penn Treaty, had been held to be inviolable. Previous to this the Indians and Dutch had got along well together in this Minisink Valley; the Hollanders cultivated it and the Indians fished and hunted along its streams and in the mountains without interfering with or molesting each other. But, when the storm of the Revolution broke forth, the Delaware Indians were easily goaded to hostility by their more warlike and treacherous neighbors of the North, who, through Brant's influence and the liberal patronage of the British Commissioners, had obtained sole control of the Six Nations. It now became a life and death struggle between the Tories and Colonists for the establishment of British power in America.

About the time of the "Battle of Minisink," to which reference will more largely be made, a fleet of 400 ships and 25,000 veterans had landed in New York Bay, and all the vulnerable points on the Atlantic seaboard and on the Hudson River had either been stormed or capitulated to the British. Stony Point and Fort Montgomery had been captured; Kingston and Cherry Valley burned; Philadelphia and every town on the Delaware, with the exception of Trenton and Princeton, was in the hands of the British; and with Claudius Smith and his Tory Gang in the Ramapo Valley on the south, and Bonnell Moody and his blood-thirsty bands ravaging New Jersey, and an army of hostile savages and Tories hanging like a dark cloud on the west, this Minisink region and the precinct of Goshen may well be said to have been surrounded literally with a wall of fire. Brant's raids were mainly in the region between the mouth of the Neversink River, where it empties into the Delaware, and the present Village of Cuddebackville, then known as Peenpack, in the neighborhood of Forts DeWitt, Van Auken and

Gumaer. Fort Gumaer was located at Peenpack, near Cuddebackville, close to a Spring and a Spring Brook, in the central part of Peenpack Flats. It is said that the name "Peenpack" has reference to this spring and brook. Fort DeWitt was built at the commencement of the Revolutionary War and stood near where now the Suspension Bridge crosses the Neversink, on the road leading from Port Jervis to Cuddebackville, about a mile south of Cuddebackville, and in which house DeWitt Clinton was born. Fort Van Auken was nearer to where is now the Village of Port Jervis, and not far from the Old Burying Ground, and in the neighborhood of the farm house now owned by Levi Van Etten.

In regard to the Indian raids and massacres that occurred in that part of Minisink lying in the State of New Jersey, I find that Tadeuskund, the Chief of the Lenape Indians, was their manager in the Old Minisink War, miscalled "The French and Indian War," who was insistent that it was waged to revenge their wrongs inflicted by the heirs of William Penn in robbing them of their lands on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River, and strict orders were issued by him that the war should not be carried into New Jersey, where the Indians had been paid for their lands. In consequence, the only Indians who came across the river into New Jersey, were vagrant stragglers, under no leadership, and only seeking to take revenge irregularly.

And in regard to these Indian raids and massacres, I desire to say that they were committed in direct violation of the treaty which General Schuyler, on the part of Congress, had concluded with the Six Nations of Western New York, in July, 1775, by which they were to observe strict neutrality between the Americans and the British. But this was not according to what the Indians desired. It was not long before they were induced to break their pledges. First along they singled out individuals whom they feared or hated, and then their death-dealing blows became more numerous and frequent.

In the short time allotted me I cannot narrate any family or individual raids to any extent, but must content myself with giving an account of the raids that partook of a neighborhood, war-like or battle character.

Of those that occurred on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River, I will mention one, called "The Battle of the Conashaugh." This took place a few miles below the present Village of Milford, Pike County, Pa., as furnished me in a copy of a letter by John Van Campen, dated April 24th, 1780, found in the Pennsylvania archives and kindly sent me by Hon. J. H. Van Etten, attorney, of Milford, Pa., whose great grandfather was in the fight.

This Lawyer Van Etten has stood when a boy on the battle field with his grandfather and had pointed out to him the location of the Indians and his great grandfather's men as they had been shown to him by his father.

(From Copy of Letter in Pennsylvania Archives.)

BATTLE CALLED "BATTLE OF THE CONASHAUGH.

John Van Campen to Pres. Reed.

Southfield, April 24, 1780.

Honr'd Sir:

I hope my last by Mr. Mixer has come to hand informing you of the incursion of the Indians at the house of Manuel Gunsaleyes. I herewith inform your Honor of their late attempts. James McCarte with his family was removed to the Jersey on the 20th inst., his sons went to their home to feed the cattle, the farm was in Pa. about three miles below Milford, discovered signs of Indians, returned to the Jersey immediately and acquainted Major Westbrook and Captain Westbrook and the signs they had discovered: they sent immediately for some of their best men and crossed the River that night. About sun rise the morning following discovered the Indians nigh the barn and began the attack: the number of the enemy is supposed to be about fourteen: the Major received no damage with his party: the Indians retreated to the woods: The Major was reinforced by Cap. Van Etten with three of his sons and son-in-law: pursued the Indians by the blood and about two miles came up with them. As it is without doubt three of them was wounded: renewed the attack, drove the Indians to the edge of a thick wood. Captain Van Etten maintained his ground with his few men, the Major with his men also. Captain Westbrook's men left at the first fire from the enemy in the woods, which was the

ruin of the whole, but the ground maintained for some time and the retreat secured by the Major and Van Etten. Killed and missing on the part of the Major and Van Etten,—Captain Westbrook missing,—not yet found: Benjamin Ennis killed, son-in-law to Captain Van Etten: Richard Rosecrans killed and two more wounded. Of the enemy killed, two found,—one an officer appearing by his dress,—found in his pocket a regular Journal from the first of March till the 16th instant. As appears by his Journal there is Three Hundred and Ninety marched from Niagagari, divided into different parties. The officer was a white man. Respected Sir, now under difficulties of march, what the event will be God only knows. The people are determined to evacuate the country as there appears no prospect of relief by the Militia.

I am, sir, with due respect,

Your most humble Servt.,

JOHN VAN CAMPEN.

P. S. The said Mc.Cartee, where the attack began, is about two miles below Wells Ferry on the banks of the Delaware.

Capt. Van Etten lives in Delaware Township one mile below Mc.Cartee's.

I will refer to two more raids and they will be "The Invasion by Joseph Brant."

Who was this Joseph Brant?

Well, he was the celebrated Mohawk Chief, whose name was "Tha-yen-den-da-gue," which means "two-sticks-of-wood-bound-together," denoting strength. Was that name prophetic? Did he combine the Indian cunning, cruelty and craftiness with the military education and training which he received, "two sticks bound together, denoting strength?"

He was born of pure Iroquois blood on the banks of the Ohio River in 1742, where his father died. His mother returned with him and his sister, Mary or Molly, to the Mohawk and married an Indian by the name of Barent, and the two children were afterwards known as Joseph and Mary or Molly Brant. Molly, by her beauty and grace in riding captivated Sir William Johnson, the General-in-Chief of all the Indians in North America of Johnstown, in what is now Montgomery County, and she became his leman,

he already having a wife in Ireland. This Sir William Johnson sent young Brant to Dr. Wheelock's School at Lebanon, Conn., where the lad was educated for the Christian ministry. For some cause he did not enter the ranks of the clergy; but, in his old age he labored to convert his people to the white man's faith, and translated a part of the New Testament, one of the Gospels, into Mohawk language.

At the age of twenty he became the Secretary and Agent of Sir William Johnson. As the Revolutionary storm was brewing, both Whigs and Tories made an effort to induce his conduct. Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a devoted missionary among the Six Nations, tried to induce Brant to remain neutral, but the agents of the British prevailed. In 1775 he left the Mohawk and went to Canada. There, as colonel, in the British Army, having received his commission from George III early in the Revolutionary War, he organized and set forth those predatory bands of Indians which devastated the frontier from the Delaware Water Gap to the Mohawk River.

Captain Jeremiah Snyder, who with his son was made prisoner near Saugerties and taken to Niagara, thus describes this famous Chief:

"He was good looking, of fierce aspect, tall and rather spare, well-spoken and then apparently about thirty years of age. He wore moccasins elegantly trimmed with beads, leggins and a breech cloth of superfine blue, a short green coat, with two silver epaulets and a small, round laced hat. By his side was an elegantly mounted cutlass, and his blanket (purposely dropped in the chair on which he sat to display his epaulets) was gorgeously adorned with a border of red. His language was very insulting."

He was received with great distinction on his tour to England in 1786, and was attached to the Military Service of Sir Guy Carlton in Canada. He opposed the confederation of the Indians which led to the expedition of General Wayne, and did all he could to prevent peace between the Indians and the United States. He was zealously devoted to the welfare of his own people and did all he could to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits among them. While in England he collected funds for a church, which was the

first one built in Upper Canada. He spent the latter part of his life at Burlington Bay, near the head of Lake Ontario, where he built a house for himself on a tract of land conferred upon him by the British Government.

This much for the personnel of Colonel Brant.

It was the time now of the deepest depression (1778). Everywhere the Frontier Settlements were nearly drained by the army of the male defenders, and yet exposed to the treachery of the Tories and the torch and tomahawk of the Indians. The awful massacre of Wyoming had but passed, when, lo, tidings came that Brant and his band are marching on to Minisink! Brant, the very name of terror, the hero of the awful atrocities of Cherry Valley, called the "Monster Brant," educated at Dartmouth College, but which college education did not tame his savage nature, more cunning than a fox, more fierce than a tiger. Yes, tidings came that Brant was coming. And come he did.

In the region of what was then Peenpack, now Cuddebackville, in the Town of Deerpark, Orange County, on Tuesday, October 13th, 1778, a party of nearly one hundred Indians and Tories, under the leadership of Brant, invaded the settlement. They first surprised the family of Mr. Westfall and killed the only man that was home at the time. Mr. Thomas Swartwout and his four sons, thinking that the marauders were only few in number and more desirous of plunder than of murder, resolved to defend their home. The women were sent to Fort Gumaer and the house firmly barricaded. But when the enemy appeared it was found that resistance was useless, and after firing a few times, seeing their chance of escape would soon be cut off, resolved to flee. Then they all started to run in the direction of the fort, but one of the sons was killed before reaching the shelter of the barn. Another son, separated from the others, ran toward the Neversink, half a mile off, but was pursued by a few Indians and shot while swimming the river near the opposite shore. The old gentleman and his two other sons kept together, running as fast as they could towards the fort, but soon found that they would be overtaken. They paused. "James," said the father to one of his sons, "you are young and active and can save yourself. If you stay to assist me we shall all

be killed. Save yourself while you can." The other son kept by the side of his father. They were both soon overtaken and tomahawked. James was pursued for half a mile through brush and briars and over fences and across lots till he reached the fort saved.

The continued firing warned the inhabitants of the danger coming to them, and those who were out on their farms repaired to the forts, Guamer and DeWitt. Only nine men being in Fort Gumaer, Captain Cuddeback (to whom references will hereafter be made), paraded all the young people and women back of the house, got together all the hats and coats and placed all the spare guns and sticks in their hands. And many a blushing damsel, who two days before would have scorned the idea of her ever wearing male attire, made her appearance that day in a cocked hat and ragged coat and vest with her dainty limbs clad in a faded pair of homespun breeches; and many a staid matron was that day apparently transformed into a dignified Continental soldier, with blue coat and brass buttons. Captain Cuddeback was aware of the influence display had on the savage mind, and he resolved to profit by it. There being only nine men there at the time, but he resolved to defend it, though it was only a picket fort at best. When the Indians came in sight he ordered all the drums to beat and marched all these people from the rear to the front of the fort and made as big a parade as possible. He then ordered the women and children into the cellar; but Ann Swartwout, a large woman, told the captain that she would take a pitchfork and remain with the men, which she did.

The Indians did not attempt to take the fort, but departed after a few shots were fired.

They then proceeded to Fort DeWitt and stationed themselves on a hill, which was covered with woods near the fort and remained there some time, firing occasionally as they secured a view of the garrison with no effect, save the killing of Captain Newkirk's horse by a stray bullet. On the same day they retreated towards the west, after burning all the houses, barns and buildings they found in their course, which was a great source of distress to the inhabitants.

Some of the wives and children were sent to Major Phillips, at a place called Phillipsburgh, a hamlet in the eastern part of the Town of Wawayanda, near Goshen, where, by the way, powder in large quantities was manufactured for the Continental Army during the Revolution. Major Phillips thus became aware of the danger of the people of Minisink, and he arrived at the fort the day after the invasion, but the invaders had gone, and it was useless to pursue.

This invasion aroused the inhabitants to a sense of their danger, and the members of the Committee of Safety took immediate steps to increase the defensive powers of the settlement by repairing the forts, and Captain Cuddeback of Fort Gumaer made an application to the General Government for help, and the brave Pole, Count Pulaski, with a battalion of cavalry, was sent to their assistance. This inspired the settlers with new courage. Their families were brought back and their homes repaired. The winter passed away without any appearance of the savages, and they began to think that their share of the turmoils of war was over. In February, 1779, Count Pulaski and his men were ordered to South Carolina, as he was needed there to join the army of General Lincoln, and the inhabitants of this Minisink region were left defenceless. But winter passed and spring melted into summer, and the laborers were cheered by the singing of the birds and the babbling of the waters of the rivers, and everything seemed calm and peaceful.

There is an old tradition among the legends of the Towns of Minisink and Greenville, in Orange County, that Brant visited the Minisink neighborhood in order to acquaint himself with the affairs of that territory before his second invasion. It is said that the residents suspected a certain man of open Tory principles of carrying provisions to some one in the swamp: in fact, he was seen one morning just before daylight emerging from the swamp, carrying the carcass of a sheep that had been slaughtered. He would not tell what he had been doing, so he was arrayed in the sheepskin and marched off to Goshen Jail, sixteen miles away, a soldier following him with a bayonet to keep him from lagging, and a boy with a drum following. Captain Van Inwegen, chairman of the Committee of Safety, had this Tory between his soldiers as they

were marching to Goshen. He was close to the Tory, so that none of the soldiers could shoot the Tory, but as the file was turning at one place, as the road turned, some soldier in the rear could not resist the temptation to shoot the Tory, and fired, the ball going through Captain Van Inwegen's canteen. If this was so, Brant became well informed of the neighborhood and its resources, and thus could invade the Minisink region so successfully.

And now we come to the Second Invasion of the Minisink Region by Brant and his warriors.

Colonel Brant, in all probability, heard that this frontier was unprotected, and so, in the summer of 1779 he left Niagara with about three hundred Iroquois Warriors and many Tories, painted as Indian Warriors, and started east for a second raid on this Minisink region. About the middle of July they appeared on the western borders of that region, at Peenpack, near what is now Cuddebackville, like a cloud on the mountain top ready to break on the plain below. And sure enough, on the morning of Tuesday, July 20th, 1779, before daybreak, the people of the valley were awakened from their slumbers by the Indian warhoop, the shrieks of the victims of the tomahawk and the crackling of the flames of their dwellings. Their first surprise was at the old Mahackamack Church, which stood near what is now North Main street and New Jersey avenue, in the Village of Port Jervis, opposite the Old Burying Ground which is now there, burned it, and after killing some of the people they crossed the Neversink River to the east and destroyed several farm houses on the road towards Hugenot. They also assaulted the Van Auken Fort at Major Decker's, which stood not far from where the Old Church was; they entered the fort unawares, the men being absent. They then proceeded to the dwelling of Anthony Van Etten, where a few Indians entered a blacksmith shop. Mr. James Swartwout was in and he secreted himself by climbing up the chimney, and the negro who was working there staid in charge. The Indians tumbled over things in general, and then took hold of the bellows and began to blow. The negro, knowing that the smoke and cinders would have a bad effect on Mr. Swartwout, told them "to stop or they would spoil that thing." And so they did, and Mr. Swartwout was spared. They

then went to the house of one James Van Vliet, and their approach being seen, the inmates fled. There was some firing at the Van Auken Fort and one man was killed there. An Indian, in attempting to get near the fort to set it on fire, was killed. By this time smoke and flames were seen in many directions, and the people knew that the Indians, with Brant at their head, were there. His manner of approach was stealthily by night, hiding by day, and rushing out among and on the people at the break of day. There was a funeral that day and Major Decker, while riding home was attacked and wounded, but putting spurs to his horse, he escaped.

While these events were transpiring and the people who had warning were fleeing to the forts and block houses and other places for safety, the fathers and mothers thought of their children a mile or so away in the Old Log School House, and hoped that they might escape the attention of the savages. But in this they were doomed to disappointment. The Indians entered the school house and intended to exterminate one generation with a blow. Their teacher, Jeremiah Van Auken, was taken about half a mile from the school house, killed and scalped, and some of the larger boys were tomahawked, some fled to the woods, and the little girls stood by the side of their dead teacher, struck with horror, not knowing their fate. But one thing happened then which showed that even in the heart of this cruel leader there was still a spark of humanity.

Suddenly a strong, muscular Indian came along and with a brush dashed some black paint across their aprons, bidding them, "hold up the mark when they saw an Indian coming," and with a yell, disappeared in the woods. That Indian was Brant. The children were safe. As the Indians passed along, running from place to place, murdering and scalping such as were in their way, they saw the mark and left the children unharmed. Quick as a flash of lightning, a happy thought entered the minds of the little sisters. They thought they could save their brothers. The scattered boys were quickly assembled and the girls threw their aprons over the clothes of the boys and stamped the black impression upon their outer garments, and they in turn held up the mark as the

Indians appeared, and the children were thus saved from injury and death.

This school house stood right below what is now known as "The Black Rock Cut" on the Erie Railroad, which is just before you reach the Village of Port Jervis, about a mile southwest from where the farm house of one Levi Van Etten now is, which house can be seen from the train, right-hand side, just after leaving the cut.

One of the little girls upon whom Brant dashed the black paint, and who witnessed the killing of their teacher, was Margaret Decker. On her return home she found that her father's house had been burned. She grew up and married Benjamin Carpenter, and she had a daughter, named Margaret, who married John Van Etten; and this Mrs. John Van Etten died only a few years ago; and many residents of the Town of Deerpark, who are now living, have heard her repeat the story of the paint and massacre as she had it from her own mother's lips.

After destroying ten dwellings, twelve barns, two mills and the Old Mahackamack Church, and killing with the tomahawk and scalping knife thirty-one of the inhabitants, they left, loaded with spoils, recrossed the Neversink, and took the trail, by which they had come, off towards what is now Sparrowbush, up towards Cahoonzie, and following up along the northerly and westerly side of the Delaware River, they stopped at Halfway Brook, which empties into the Delaware near where is now the Village of Barryville, which is just across the same river from Shohola, a station on the Erie Railroad, otherwise called Grassy Brook, where they encamped for the night.

Let us now leave Brant and his warriors and his spoils by the side of this Halfway Brook, and turn our attention for a few moments to what is transpiring in another part of the country.

An express messenger was sent over the mountain to Goshen, which arrived there the same evening as the massacre, and told Colonel Tusten of the events of that morning. Orders were immediately issued by the colonel to the officers under him to meet him the following morning with as many volunteers as could be raised. One hundred and forty-nine men assembled the next

morning at the appointed place. A council of war was held as to the advisability of pursuit. Colonel Tusten was not inclined to risk an encounter with that noted Mohawk chief, because his warriors outnumbered the Goshen Militia two to one, and the militia were not well supplied with arms and ammunition, and it were better to wait for reinforcements, which were soon expected, but some were for immediate pursuit, stating that the Indians would not fight and that it would be an easy matter to recapture the plunder. After some lengthy arguments, pro and con, further deliberation was cut short by Major Meeker, who, mounting his horse and flourishing his sword, called out: "Let the brave men follow me; the cowards may stay behind." That settled the question: it silenced the prudent. The 149 men started some time early in that morning of Wednesday, July 21st, 1779, and they reached the house of one James Finch, ten mile away, near where the Village of Finchville now is, where they had breakfast, Mr. Finch slaughtering a hog, which was roasted and served to the patriots. What they did not eat they took along in their knapsacks and continued their march over the mountain, saying to Mr. Finch not to accompany them, but to stay and have dinner ready for them when they came back, which, they said, would be in the course of a few hours. This must have been said by the "Meeker" men.

They were soon on the top of the mountain, and more than one-half of them took their last look at the eastern slope. They then crossed the mountain and pushed on over an Indian trail and reached the ruins of the house of Major Decker, the father of the little girl upon whose apron Brant had put the black paint. When Brant and his forces were invading this part of Minisink on the morning of the 20th Major Decker and some others were returning from a funeral, and he was shot at and wounded. After leaving Major Decker's this brave band pushed on seventeen miles further and then encamped for the night, which was Wednesday evening, July 21st, 1779, at a place known as Skinner's Saw Mill, which was near where the Mongaup River empties into the Delaware River.

The next morning they were reinforced by a small number of men

from the Warwick Regiment, under Colonel Hathorn, who being an older officer than Colonel Tusten, took command. After starting on their march on the morning of the 22nd, they soon came to Halfway Brook and to the place where Brant, his Indians and Tories had encamped the previous night, but from which they had early departed on their retreat towards Canada. Here another council was held, and Colonels Hathorn and Tusten were opposed to any further advance, as it could be plainly seen by the number of camp fires on the ground occupied by the enemy the previous night that their number was largely in excess of the militia. But here another scene similar to the one enacted at Goshen took place and with the same result. The voice of prudence was compelled to yield to that of bravado. It has been said that this officer, to whose tauntings this former and last act have been attributed made quite a display of his bravery while on the march, but with his company was only within hearing while the engagement lasted and could not be induced to go to the relief of his countrymen; and yet, I have heard it said, that he was wounded in the battle.

And now we come to "The Battle of the Minisink." The line of march for "The Battle of the Minisink" may well be said to have begun at Barryville, Halfway Brook.

It was very evident that Brant was not very far in advance, and it was very important to know whether he was going to cross the Delaware at the usual Fording Place, which was at the well known Lackawaxen Ford, at or near where the Delaware & Hudson Canal afterwards crossed the Delaware River, above the present station, Lackawaxen on the Erie Railroad; and Captains Tyler and Cuddeback, who had some knowledge of the woods, with a small party, were sent to reconnoitre. On going forward they thought that Brant had already crossed the Delaware, as they saw plunder and savages on the opposite shore and an Indian passing over with a horse stolen from Major Decker's. They fired at this fellow and wounded him fatally, but they were immediately shot at by some Indians in ambush and Captain Tyler killed. Captain Cuddeback, who was dressed in a suit of clothes exactly the color of the leaves, escaped and reached the main body and reported what he had seen and who had been killed. The death of Cap-

tain Tyler caused a profound sensation among the men, some of whom left, but the majority pressed on.

It was the belief of the Americans that Brant and his forces intended to cross the Delaware at this Lackawaxen Ford; and Colonel Hathorn's object was to reach this fording place in advance and thus intercept them in their intended crossing. After Brant left Halfway Brook that morning he pursued his march up the river, how far in advance of Colonel Hathorn is not known; but it must have occurred to Colonel Hathorn that in order to accomplish this purpose of intercepting the foe, his march must be of the most rapid character. It was necessary that he pass the Indians, but to be seen by them would be fatal. The Americans could cross the Delaware and not be seen by the Indians; and then there is no place from Halfway Brook to Lackawaxen where this could be done unless the river was very low. Our men did not cross the Delaware at all. The Delaware River from Halfway Brook to Lackawaxen is closely confined in its course by two considerable mountains rising from its opposite shores. From Barryville to a distance of about half a mile up the river, there is a slope of land extending back from the stream a quarter of a mile or more and over which the top of the mountain can be reached with ease. At the termination of this slope the mountain rises abruptly from the shore of the river and continues precipitous and high to the outlet of Beaver Brook; and from the mouth of this brook to the distance of about half a mile or three-fourths of a mile, a flat extends some distance back from the river, and beyond this is a slope of ascending ground, somewhat similar to that at Barryville. Down this slope and through this flat land, before mentioned, the little Dry Brook passes until its waters mingle with those of the Delaware; and there was water in it when the writer visited this battle field this year on Decoration Day.

When our men left Halfway Brook on the morning of the 22nd day of July, 1779, with a desire to outmarch the Indians and reach the Lackawaxen Ford in advance of Brant and his men, and knowing that Brant and his men were marching along the Delaware River shore, the route over the mountain would seem to have been the most feasible for them; and so passing up the easy slope at

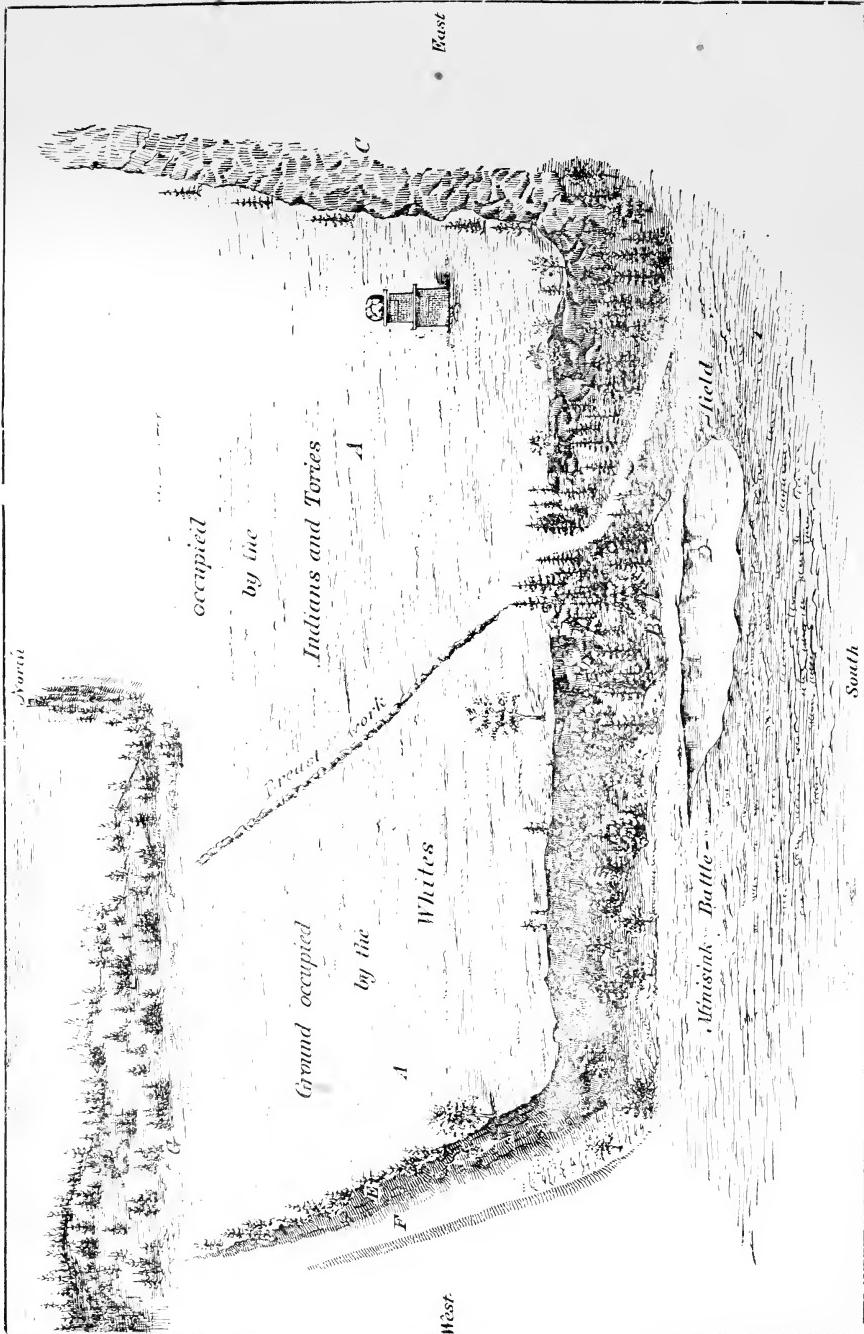
Halfway Brook to the mountain top, they could march to Beaver Brook and so on to the Dry Brook Valley, secure from observation by the Indians and free from the danger of their bullets; and thus travelling along, Colonel Hathorn could discover from that eminence, as has been written, "The Indians leisurely marching along the bank of the river three-quarters of a mile distant;" and when he was thus passing, "the two armies would lose sight of each other." And it seems from historical accounts that nothing further was seen or known of the savage band until discovered in the rear of Colonel Hathorn's army and between two portions of it.

As the American forces were passing over the slope of Beaver Brook, it looked as if the wily Indian chief discovered them, or by the Indian instinct learned that they were upon the hills and in pursuit, and thereupon left the river; and anticipating the design of Colonel Hathorn, the moment the Americans were out of sight he wheeled to the right and by threading up a ravine which Colonel Hathorn had crossed (Dry Brook), he threw himself in the rear of the Americans and was thus enabled to select his ground for battle. Disappointed at not finding the enemy at the Fording place or near it on looking from the high hill, the Americans were brought to a stand, when Brant's forces disclosed themselves in a quarter altogether unexpected.

This battle ground is situated on the crest of a hill, half a mile northeast from Dry Brook, three miles from Barryville and one mile from Lackawaxen. The hill has an altitude of about 25 or 30 feet above its base and 200 feet above the Delaware River, and descends east and west and south, while there is a level plateau extending towards the north.

Attached hereto is a diagram of the battle field, with explanation:





Courtesy
SULLIVAN COUNTY REPUBLICAN.

"A" is a plateau very nearly, occupied by the Indians and whites; and the monument erected July 22d, 1897, is on the S. E. part of that plateau.

"B" is a hill about thirty feet high, mostly capped by broken rock.

"C" is an irregular ledge of rock, rising from the level about eighteen feet to the plateau, and a fac simile is carved on the monument erected at Goshen in 1862.

"D" is a small pond at the foot of the hill, and of late years full of water only during wet seasons.

"E" nearly a solid ledge of rock, extending from the turn to the foot of the hill, "G."

"F" is a table land extending from foot of ledge about twelve feet wide and where it is certain that Colonel Tusten and the seventeen wounded met their fate.

"G" is a hill ascending from the plateau towards the north and curving as shown, at the easterly extremity.

And between the ground occupied by the whites and by the Indians and Tories is the breastwork thrown up in haste by our men, some of which still can be seen on the ground.

"X" is the place where the Indians first broke through and entered the grounds occupied by the whites.

It is said that Brant on the near approach of the Americans presented himself in full view, openly and fairly addressed himself to the commanding officer and demanded their surrender, promising at the same time to treat them kindly as prisoners of war. He assured them that his force in ambush was sufficient to overpower and destroy them; that before any blood was shed he could control his warriors, but that, should the battle commence, he could not answer for the consequences; that while he was parleying with them he was fired upon and narrowly escaped being shot down, the ball piercing the outer fold of his belt. On receiving the shot he immediately retired and secreted himself among his warriors. The militia emboldened by his disappearance, and seeing no other enemy, not being used to Indian warfare and disbelieving what he told them, rushed forward heedlessly until they were completely in his power; for, as soon as the battle began, which was between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, above the din and noise of the strife, the voice of Brant was heard in tones never to be forgotten by those who survived, giving orders for the return of those who were

on the opposite side of the Delaware River, which they did, and came up on the opposite side of the whites, and thus this brave band was caught like rats in a trap. On reaching the battle ground, or the open ground, the order was given the Americans to stand, and each man took his position. They formed something of a battle line, in the form of a hollow square; some behind trees, some behind rocks; some turned up flat stones and some piled up stones between trees. There was a large split rock, with an opening something like the letter "A," and in this opening Daniel Myers took his stand: it was as high as his shoulders. And here he and the colored man who was beside him, each having a rifle, poured forth all day, one loading, and Myers shooting till the colored man was killed.

Here, confined to about an acre of ground, were ninety brave men forced to mortal combat, without water in a hot July day, surrounded by howling savages, who fought from about 10 o'clock in the morning till nearly sundown. Ammunition was short and the order was that there be no useless firing. Every man fought in the Indian mode, each for himself, as opportunity offered, or engaged in individual conflicts. What the other fifty men were doing on that day, who were separated from their companions in the morning, no one can tell. It seems their movements were veiled in oblivion. It is said that the annals of modern times contain no record of a more stubborn and heroic defense. In vain Brant sought for hours to break through the line: he was repelled at every point. What a time of supreme peril it was for that little Spartan band, thus environed by the jaws of death! What a scene for us to contemplate, looking back through the vista of more than 125 years! What mortal tongue or pen can fitly chronicle the heroism and fortitude of those gallant men who died upon this gory field! Who shall tell us of that day and hour, so fraught with deepest interest to those men and the dear ones left at home? If those mute witnesses could but speak, how gladly would we all here be silent and listen to their eloquence? But we must content ourselves with such information as we can gather from the survivors.

As the day was drawing to a close, Brant was about to give up

the struggle and order a retreat, when the death of a militiaman, who was stationed on the northwest side of the place marked on the map "X," and where he had remained all day and kept the savages back, and on all the Indians yelling and firing all their guns, they rushed through this opening and caused a stampede among the militia, who, seeing the savages swarming into the field, became disheartened and fled.

Of the 149 men that left Goshen, only 30 returned, and 10 of these were boys who were not in the fight, but held the horses while their fathers fought. The boys fled when the stampede began and after a time were lost in the woods and were found by Captain Cuddeback and piloted back to Minisink, coupling their horses together, and were thus enabled to reach Goshen, and were the first to bear the awful tidings to the homes of the departed.

The reinforcements that were expected from Colonel John Seward from Sussex County, did not arrive till midnight after the battle, and having but sixty men, and viewing the number of Brant's forces as they were encamped near the Lackawaxen Ford, did not deem it wise to attack him.

It is believed that Brant lost 150 men in the battle, and that the number of his wounded was correspondingly large.

Governor Clinton reprobates the action of the militia in not reporting to him at once, in accordance with General Orders; and, also, said that this expedition should not have gone forward without notifying him in accordance with the regulations, so that they could have been supported, as there were soldiers in service nearer than Goshen. Also, that it was expected that General Sullivan's expedition would occupy all the time and resources of Brant and his allies. By what Governor Clinton called "unaccountable delay" Sullivan, instead of starting from Wyoming by the first of July, did not start until the 30th, and was really not under way till August 3rd, 1779, which gave Brant the opportunity to strike the blow at Minisink. (See Letters Governor Clinton, Vol V, pages 150-180. Copies are attached hereto.)

After the Battle of Minisink General Hand was sent by General Washington with several companies of men to guard the Minisink Valley, and they were stationed at Peenpack and remained there

till the following spring, when they were sent on towards the Delaware Water Gap and afterwards engaged in the expedition to drive the Indians out of that territory.

In April of the following year Brant started from Niagara with another force to invade the frontier. When he reached Tioga Point he sent eleven of his warriors to go to Minisink for scalps and prisoners. After trying to invest the fort at Schoharie he turned back and shaped his course down the Delaware. One day he was startled by a death-yell, which rang through the woods like the scream of a demon. Presently two of the eleven Indians who had been sent to Minisink emerged from the woods, bearing the moccasins of their nine companions. They told their chief that they had been to Minisink, where they had captured one after another five men and brought them as far as Tioga Point and stopped over night. While the eleven Indians were asleep the five prisoners had freed themselves from the cords which bound them, and each seizing a hatchet had brained nine of their companions: the other two aroused by the blows fled, but one of them as he ran received the blade of a hatchet between his shoulders.

Thus was the death of the slain heroes at Minisink, July 22nd, 1779, partially avenged.

When the retreat on July 22nd, 1779, began, every one fled as best he could. Some were killed while swimming the Delaware; others were overtaken in the woods and either tomahawked or scalped, and some were taken prisoners.

The brave Colonel Tusten, who was also a doctor of renowned ability, who was attending to the wounded in the battle, of whom there were seventeen, and who with his wounded companions was behind a cliff of rocks, near a spring of water, dressing the wounded, was killed. Their cries for protection and mercy were of the most moving description, but the Indians fell upon them and they all, together with the doctor, perished under the tomahawk.

Of the few that escaped we have an account of the way in which some of them were saved; but the narration of those escapes would be only of local nature and would not materially interest this Society, so I will not occupy your time by giving them.

Colonel Hathorn must have been separated from his men by the

coming in between him and them by Brant and his forces, as not a single Warwick man was hurt in that engagement.

Here follows correspondence relative to the Battle of Minisink.

Albert Pawling asks for and receives instructions.

Marbletown, July 22nd, 1779.

D'r Sir:

By accounts this moment received by Express from Lieut. Colo. Johnson, I hear the enemy have burnt Minisink & surrounded Fort Van Auken: where this Fort is or what men are in it, I know not. I have no men lower than Leuring Kill except a Sergt. & 20 men at Pienpeck.

I wish, as we are under marching Orders to the westward to have your direction how to conduct myself in this affair.

I am with respect your most obed't Hble. Serv't,

A. PAWLING.

His Excellency, Gov. Clinton.

(Reply of Gov. Clinton.)

July 22nd, 1779.

Dear Sir:

I have this moment received your letter of equal date containing the disagreeable intelligence transmitted by Express from Lieut. Colo. Johnson of the destruction of Minisink by the enemy and of their having surrounded Fort Van Auken. I am equally ignorant with yourself where this Fort is situated, how constructed or by what troops it is garrisoned. It is, therefore, & because I am uncertain what moment you may receive order to march, very difficult for me to determine what directions to give you on this occasion. I am persuaded, however, it must be a very considerable part of the enemy who have alarmed the inhabitants and done the present mischief at Minisink, & they will not attempt to continue any time at that place.

The situation of our army to the westward, who I have good reason to believe are at this instant on their march from Wyoming to Chemung, confirms me in this opinion. This being the case, it is more than probable that before any part of your troops could reach Minisink the enemy will have done all the injury in their

power and left that place. I think, however, it would be proper on this occasion to put part of your Detachment in motion towards that place: it may be of use at least to advance them as far as Mamacotting, from which place they can readily join you without fatiguing them: and, if when they arrive there you should learn that the enemy have left, you will of course at all events march them on to the relief of that Settlement, with orders however to join you with all possible dispatch after the departure of the enemy.

You will inform Lieut. Colo. Johnson of the Orders you may give to your Detachment on this occasion & request him also to march such part of the Militia as may be necessary on this occasion. I take for granted the marching Orders you mention are only such as you have received from me.

I. am &c.

To Lieut. Col. Albert Pawling.

G. C.

Marbletown, July 24th, 1779.

D'r Sir:

Enclosed I send you a letter I last night received from Major Van Benschoten the latest accounts we have received from Minisineck.

&c. &c.

A. PAWLING.

His Excellency Gov. Clinton.

July 24th, 1779.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of this date enclosing the account of the mischief done by the enemy at Minisineck. Just before I received yours, I received a letter from Colo. Newkerk containing a very inaccurate acc't of the affair at Minisineck, from which it would seem as if part of the militia were cut off: however, as the intelligence was brought from thence by some of the militia who pretended to have escaped, but who very probably deserted, I am in hopes it is not true. I have ordered Colo. Newkerk immediately to march such part of his and Colo. Hardenbergh's Regt's. to their assistance as may be necessary. With respect to your Detachment ordered to Mamacotting, you must be governed by circumstances:

If you have certain intelligence that the enemy have left Minisink, your troops must return to their former Station & be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning as before.

I. am &c.

GEO. CLINTON.

Lieut. Colo. Pawling.

(Letter from Rev. Nathan Ker, Pastor of the Goshen Pres. Church, to Gov. Clinton.)

Goshen, July 29, 1779.

Sir:

I was desired to send you inclosed the Examination of Moabary Owen, a deserter from one of State Regiments & to make the following representation, viz.:—

That last week upon a Tuesday about 85 Indians and Toreys, under the Command of the noted Brant, made a descent upon Minisink, killed sundry persons, burned eleven houses and as many barns together with the Dutch Church, took off some prisoners, cattle, horses, sheep and considerable plunder: that on Wednesday a party of our people collected, principally from this County, with some from Ulster & others from N. Jersey, pursued & on Thursday came up with them, gave them battle, & were defeated with a loss, it is supposed of 50 or 60 men,—the number, however, not yet ascertained.

Among the missing, and it is feared slain, are Coll. Tusteen, Capt. Jones, Wood & Little, Gabriel Wisner, Esq., & Roger Townsend, an instance of a converted Torey, "Rara Avis In Terris." In short there are not less than 15 or 16 widows by this affair in this Congregation.

A party of 240 set out on Saturday: we marched that day within two miles of the place of action: but the rain on Sunday made it imprudent to stay, as many were not prepared to be out after such a wet day, nor was it in our power to keep our Arms dry. Some of the Indians were seen yesterday near, I believe at, Minisink.

The Frontiers are in the utmost consternation & great numbers will no doubt soon leave their habitation unless properly guarded.

I was desired and should have waited on your Excellency myself,

but in the march with the above s'd party, I bruised my leg against a rock & think it not prudent to ride.

After saying that Coll. Heathorn told me he judged we had killed, he thinks considerable number of the enemy, I shall only ask whether it will not be practicable for your Excellency to station some of our 8 months men at that place together with some of the Militia?

My compliments to Mrs. Clinton & Family: hope her health is recovered.

I am your Excellencies most Obed't humble Serv't,
GEORGE KER.

His Excellency, George Clinton.

(The Examination of Moabary Owen, Taken by Henry Wisenor, Esq.)

Saith he left Shomong ye. 8th. of July in Company with Hanek Huff, John Huff, Nicholas Miller, Lodwick Seeley, Ruluf Johnson, William Crum, Benony Crum, Anthony Westbrook, John Barnhart, John Chessem, Daniel Cole, Ebenezer Allen and Fourteen other Toreys and about Sixty Enions and that Joseph Brant had the Command of said party, and he heard Brand gave orders that they would not kill any woman or children and if they knew any person to be a Torey not to kill them and any that would deliver themselves up to take them prisoners, but any person running from them to kill them: and he fursaith, that they threaten to destroy Catts Kill Settlement: and that there is one olde Sager which was at the destruction of Peenpack and is now at Hallibar-rack and has Sixty Toreys ready to joine Brant and that a number of them is of Burgoines men. He further saith 2500 is too come from Canada to take Fort Stanwicks.

(Gov. Clinton's Letter to Dr. Ker: Delay of Sullivan's Expedition responsible for the exposed Condition of our Frontier.)

Poughkeepsie, 30th., July, 1779.

Rev'd Sir:—

I have this moment received your letter of yesterday with the very disagreeable intelligence from Minisinck. It was not before

the Friday after the enemy made their appearance in that neighborhood, I received the first account of it, and this was from Lieut. Colo. Pawling at Warwarsinck, who was not able to give me any of the particulars respecting the enemy's strength, or the number of the Militia who had marched to oppose them or any other particulars whereby I could form a right judgment what was most proper to be done. On this information, however, I put a part of his detachment in motion towards Minisineck (tho' they are under marching Orders on a different direction,) & next day on an equally imperfect account received from Lieut. Colo. Newkerk, I ordered part of his & of Hardenberg's Regmt' to march for Minisineck, but these I conclude could not have arrived in season, or must have returned on hearing that the enemy were gone off.

It is particularly unfortunate that early intelligence had not been transmitted to me of the first appearance of the enemy (and by the Militia Law it is expressly the duty of the Commanding Officers of Regts. when they call out their Militia on such occasions to transmit me immediately accounts of it,) as in such case Pawling's Detachment might have by a forced march to the Delaware got in the rear of the enemy & effectually cut off their retreat. If we may venture to judge from the accounts you have furnished me of the strenth of the enemy & that of the Militia who were engaged with them, there must have either been some very bad management on this occasion, or the brave men who have fallen must have been shamefully deserted by their friends & I wish that there was not too much reason to conclude the latter must have been the case.

The levies under Colo. Pawling are by the direction of his Excellency Gen'l Washington, under marching Orders & as I have reason to believe they will move very soon, I cannot, therefore, take upon me to order any part of them to Minisineck, especially as in consequence of a letter written by the Legislature to our Delegates in Congress they are taken into the pay of the Continent & of course are subject to the Orders of the Commander in chief. Were the diflrent Regmts. to complete their Compliment of these levies, there would yet remain a competent guard for the Frontiers, but this is not likely to be the case.

Albany County is very different & there is nearly 150 wanting to

complete (including deficiencies by desertions) those ordered from Ulster, Dutchess & Orange & tho have repeated the most express & positive Orders on this subject to the Military Officers we are not likely to have this business perfected.

Under these circumstances it is not in my power to afford the Settlement of Minisinek any Relief, but such as can be drawn from the Militia: and I have by the bearer issued Orders & forwarded them to the different Regmts. to furnish detachments for this service.

The source of our present misfortune is the unaccountable delay of Gen'l Sullivan at Wyoming. We had every reason to expect that long before this he would have been with his army in the heart of the enemy's country, and all our measures have been calculated to facilitate his movements and cooperate with him, which has unavoidably left our Frontier more exposed than it otherwise would have been, as it has occasioned our collecting our troops from their former Stations to certain points.

I am with great regard, Sir, Yours &c.

G. C.

The Rev'd Mr. Ker.

(Copy of Letter from Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, showing date of his departure from Wyoming, which was some days after the Battle of Minisink.)

Camp Wyoming, July 30th, 1779.

Dear General:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I have at length surmounted every obstacle and shall commence my March tomorrow morning. I have taken the necessary precaution (by duplicates,) to apprise Genl. Clinton of this circumstance a copy of which I do myself the honor to inclose you.

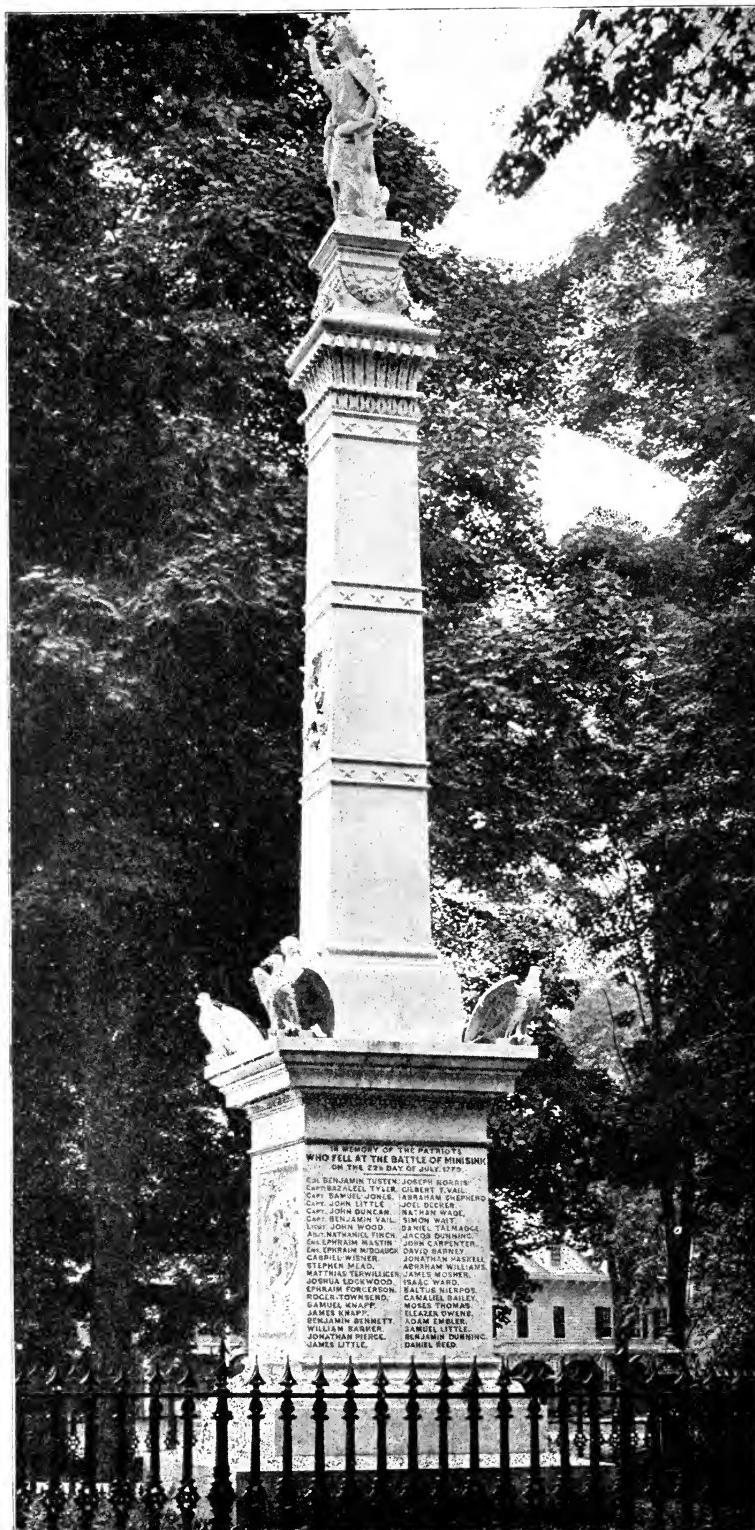
Your Excellency will be pleased to direct Col. Paulding to begin his march at such time as you may think proper.

I have the honor to subscribe myself with great respect, D'r Gen'l Y'r Excellency's O'b'd & very hum. Serv't

JNO. SULLIVAN.

His Excellency, Gen'l Washington.





Courtesy
GOSHEN DEMOCRAT

Silence and sorrow now brood o'er the valley
Where Spring, in his beauty saw plenty and joy:
The death-dealing savage came down in his fury,
And all that was lovely, he rushed to destroy.

When sated his nature with blood and with plunder,
He left for the wildwoods beside the Great Lakes:
There vengeance from Heaven shall surely o'er take him,
For 'Westward the course of our Empire takes.'

"While we mourn for the dear ones whose homes are now vacant,
No more shall we meet them on life's happy shore,—
This valley again shall rejoice in the sunshine
Of God's blessed presence through time evermore.

"Here the Church with its worship, its anthems of praise,
And the school house beside it in honor shall stand;
And millions of freemen shall bless the Creator,
Who fills with His bounty our own happy land."

(Line composed by Maggie Quick, niece of "Tom Quick," the famous Indian Slayer, or Avenger of the Delaware, which fitly describe the state of affairs in Minisink about the time of which we have been speaking.)

Let us rejoice that we do not live in such trying times; that the spirit of civilization, following in the footsteps of our Christian religion, has made it possible under "God, in whom we trust" for us to dwell under "our own vine and fig tree, none daring to molest or make us afraid." Let us rejoice that the scalping knife, the tomahawk and the torch have forever gone from this fair land of ours; and that "Old Glory," the Stars and Stripes may ever continue to "wave o'er the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

Let us hope that the spirit of peace, brotherly love and of "good will to men" may continue to permeate all lands—when war may cease and strife and turmoil and every thing that tends to mar the happiness of all nations may be done away, so that the end shall come to all animosities and ill-feelings—when the glory of God shall sparkle in the minutest atom and in the brightest star, in the dew drop and in the boundless ocean—and this earth, retuned and

restrung, shall be one grand Aeolian harp, swept by the breath of the Holy Spirit, pouring forth those melodies which began on Calvary and which shall sound through all generations.

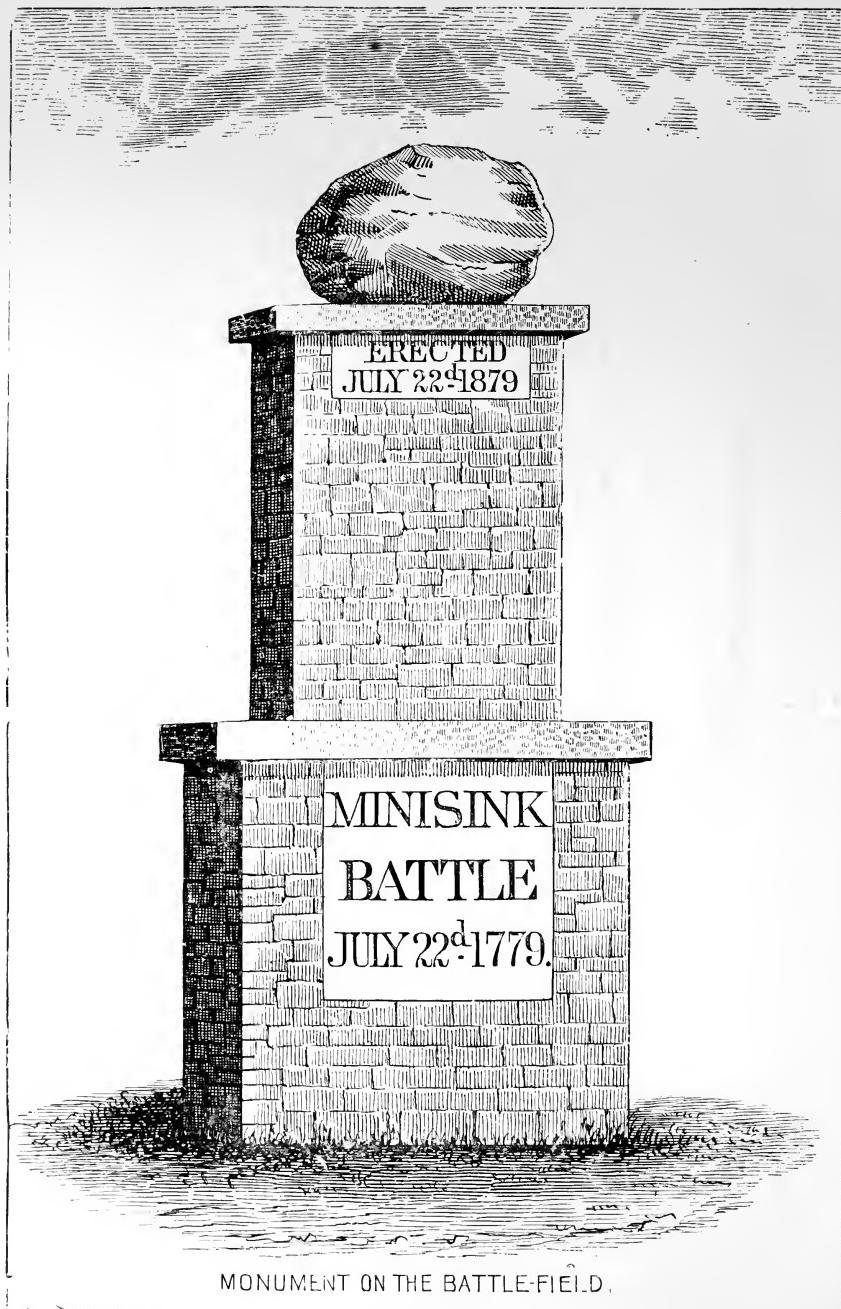
Thus much for the Indian raids and massacres in the territory of Minisink during the Revolution. But I would be derelict in my duty and disloyal to my country, did I not treat briefly of what was done by the inhabitants of the County of Orange to gather the bones of the slain patriots of the Battle of Minisink and bury them with proper ceremonies, and of the monuments that have been erected to mark their last resting place and the site of the battle.

One attempt was made many years after by the widows of the slain, of whom there were thirty-three in the Presbyterian Church of Goshen. They started for the place of battle on horseback, but finding the journey too hazardous, they hired a man to perform the pious duty, paid him well, but he proved unfaithful and never returned.

In 1822 the citizens of Goshen were led to perform a long neglected duty by an address of Dr. D. R. Arnell at a meeting of the Orange County Medical Society, in which he gave a brief biography of Dr. Tusten. A committee was appointed who proceeded to the battle ground, a distance of forty-six miles from Goshen. The place where the conflict occurred and the region for several miles around were examined and the relicts of the dead gathered with great care. Some fears were expressed that some of the bones gathered might be those of the slain Indians, but that fear was dispelled when it was suggested that the Indians always inter their slain. The remains of the pious dead were taken to Goshen and buried in the presence of 15,000 persons, including the military of the county from West Point, under the command of Major Worth. A little monument was then dedicated, the remains of which are now in the Library of the Goshen Historical Society, and an address was then given by Colonel Hathorn, then over eighty years of age, who was in the battle.

This monument gradually fell into decay. In 1861 Merit H. Cash, a citizen of the then Town of Minisink, whose father was among those who escaped at the massacre of Wyoming, who then was a very small boy, and whose mother led him by the hand





MONUMENT ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

Courtesy
SULLIVAN COUNTY REPUBLICAN.

through the wilderness for days, subsisting entirely on berries, &c., which they found on their way till they were fortunate enough to reach the Minisink settlement, bequeathed to the County of Orange \$4,000 for the erection of a monument to commemorate the battle and to perpetuate the memory of the dead. This monument was dedicated with imposing ceremonies in 1862, on the occasion of the eighty-third anniversary of the battle. The writer of this article was present. That monument and it is a magnificent one, now stands in the north corner of the Presbyterian Church Park in Goshen. Mr. John Vanderpoel of No. 70 Tenth street, New York City, was the sculptor.

A cut of this monument is hereto annexed.

On the 22d day of July, 1879, just one hundred years after the battle, another monument was dedicated on the very site of the battle. A large number was present and it was unveiled with proper ceremonies. And on the same day a large celebration of the 100th anniversary was held at the Village of Goshen. Addresses were made by various speakers, and a spectacular parade occurred.

The writer was also present on the occasion.

Attached hereto is a cut of the monument erected on the very site of the battle.

The monument is composed of stones gathered from the battle field, excepting the two flag-stones which cap the different sections, and the boulder which forms the crown. All these were obtained from Captain L. F. Johnson at the mouth of Beaver Brook, and by his procurement drawn first to Lackawaxen and thence up the acclivity to the battle field. The flagstones are each five inches thick, the one five and one-half and the other four feet square. The boulder is of white sand stone and weighs about 1,500 pounds.

In the center of the lower section of the monument, and directly beneath the large flag-stone, was placed a black walnut box which was brought from the Southern States by Abel S. Myers, Esq., upon his return from the late war, and whose grandfather was a brother of the Daniel Myers who acted such a prominent part in the Minisink battle.

In the box is a paper containing the names of the Committee of Arrangements and others interested and assisting in the erection of the monument.

THE STORY OF CHERRY VALLEY

BY HENRY U. SWINNERTON, PH. D., CHERRY VALLEY, N. Y.

Two years ago there was placed in the Presbyterian Church at Cherry Valley a mural tablet, whose inscription recalls the story which I am to relate to you in the briefest form. It reads:

A. D. 1741
Rev. Samuel Dunlop A. B.
a native of Ulster, Ireland,
led hither the families who founded
THIS CHURCH
He here preached God's peace
and taught Liberal Learning
Thirty-seven years
His Work ended in scenes of Blood
His Home desolated, He died in Exile,
near Albany.
cir. 1780.

His Wife
Elizabeth (Gallt) Dunlop,
born in Coleraine,
their daughter Mary Wells, her Husband,
and children, save one,
were cruelly slain in the
MASSACRE
which scattered the flock
Nov. 11, 1778.

A short distance from the present church is the ancient cemetery, a scant quarter acre, crowded full of Revolutionary memorials. In it stood the church of that day, a handsome structure then newly built, and about it extended the palisade fort, bastioned for cannon at opposite angles. Within the small area lie the graves of four Revolutionary colonels and upwards of a dozen others, officers

and privates and civilian officials, who fought or served in that war; besides quite a multitude of those who suffered death or captivity, or narrowly escaped it with loss of everything at that terrible time. Around, rough slabs or rock mark the graves of the pioneers who died in the early day when there was no chisel to cut their epitaphs; among them that of John Wells, cultured gentleman and officer in the French War, and lay judge on the bench at Johnstown. Within view of the cemetery all around, are homesteads, each the center of some tale or tradition of the savage event, and by it passes the earliest thoroughfare trodden by men's feet on this frontier. The place lies on the northernmost terrace of the Catskill highland, twelve miles south of the Mohawk River, 1,400 feet above tide.

From immemorial time a wilderness route had been known to the Indians from the Mohawk at Canajoharie to the head of the Susquehanna, down which stream they passed on war or hunt, to Pennsylvania and the Chesapeake and beyond. From this primitive highway trails led northward up the Unadilla and the Chenango to the heart of the country of the Oneidas and Onondagas; and further west by the Chemung to the hunting grounds and lakes, the villages and "castles" of the Cayugas and Senecas, or Senekees. Early discovering this track, Dutch fur traders found their way to the gathering place for barter, Oghwaga, at the carry across the Great Bend, the largest village on this path. This spot, near Windsor, is important to be noted as a center of primitive trade, of early travel, of missionary effort of war. The name survives in the hamlet of Onoquago, and Tuscarora, across the stream in the site of the village assigned by the Iroquois to a band of that adopted tribe. No white inhabitant had an abode in all this solitude. Eastward and northward a few German exiles from the Palatinate of the Rhine had begun to settle thinly in the Schoharie Valley, and a little beyond Canajoharie on the Mohawk. In a beautiful depression on this old trail, beyond the rugged ascent to the watershed, and at the spot where the red men launched their canoes in the farthest streams of the Susquehanna, a patent of 8,000 acres was, in 1738, secured by three leading men of Albany, Lendert Gansevoort, Jacob Roseboom and

Sybrant Van Schaick, and assigned the following year to their associate, John Lindsay, a Scotchman of enterprise, who brought his family and built a habitation in 1739. After events gave the site, a beautiful knoll, a double interest, when it became the bloodiest scene of the massacre. They were narrowly saved from perishing with hunger in the bitter winter ensuing by the succor of an Indian on snowshoes with food from the river.

In New York Lindsay had enlisted the efforts of a young clergyman, traveling through the colonies, Rev. Samuel Dunlop, through whom were secured a few Presbyterian families from Londonderry, Ireland, who seeking freedom and prospects of greater promise, about 1720, had emigrated to Boston and had founded a new Londonderry in New Hampshire. Finding conditions still unfriendly even in New England, James Campbell, David Ramsay, John Dickson and John Gallt, with their families, in 1741, came to the spot, making the voyage around Cape Cod to New York and up the Hudson by sloop; slowly tacking for two weeks, it is said, on the river.

The sloops sailed under Captain Pruyn, a cousin of the owner, who anxiously awaited its arrival at the wharf, in whose family tradition has preserved the story. The provision of food had been spent, and the voyagers needed immediate aid, which was cordially afforded them. The merchants of Albany appreciated the value of the establishment of a settlement for out on the Susquehanna trail. The ancient ledger of Hendryck Myndernt Roseboom, fur dealer and importer of European merchandise, and his sons, still preserved, show the profitable trade of long years with the people of Cherry Valley, which marked his enlightened liberality in lending them aid when he learned of their exhausted condition, and in furnishing them supplies and tools for their arduous venture.

Hendryck established his son John at Schenectady to be nearer the Indians, while another son, Myndert, remained at Albany, the character of the traffic even down to the advent of the war appears from the entries in their books. For example: "Myndert Roseboom in Albany" indebted, Nov. 1774, with an invoice amounting to £210.17.2., enumerating "1361 lbs. of red leather at 2s. 9d per lb., 33 of parchment, 16 otters, 1 fisher, 14 mush rats, 13 gray skins, 9 bear skins, 5 beavers, etc." The comprising extent of the

trade in articles of silver will appear from a few of the entries; for John called himself a "silversmith." Messrs Abm. Van Eppes & Jacob Van Epes; 5 arm bands, 3 round moons, 4 pare rist bands, 1 box, 50 pare eare rings, 13 pare large, 100 broaches, 50 do. small — 21.18.0. In Apr. 1773 Gorset Teller & Willin Groesbeck purchase each jewelrey—"eare wheels, large crosses, half-moons, here plaits, (perhaps like what the Dutch peasant girls wear)—"and 1000 gun flinte," to the amount of 115.9.0.

The place had been called Lindsay's Bush, but Mr. Dunlap, writing to his friends, proposed to date his letter from Cherry Valley, from the wild cherry growth everywhere about. On leaving Ireland he had promised Elizabeth Gallt that he would claim her within seven years or leave her free. Having been absent nearly that time, he now returned. Storms delayed the ship off the wild coast, and he arrived just as the date was expiring, and only in time to snatch his bride from a marriage to another. It was a faithful union of long years, to be broken by a tragical end.

Some additional settlers returned with them, but for years the place remained feeble, until the Revolution, the last point of departure and supply for those setting out or returning from the wilderness. The agents of Sir William Johnson's important traffic with the natives passed to and from Oghwaga through the place; bodies of Palatine Germans took the Susquehanna route to settle its lower valley and become the fathers of the Pennsylvania Dutch; and, later, claimants from Connecticut followed, to settle Wyoming and withstand Indian massacre and the Pennamite wars with the partisans of William Penn. Lindsay soon left Cherry Valley and his farm was taken by John Wells, who became a man of influence, and in process of time his son Robert wedded Mr. Dunlop's daughter Mary. Their neighbor was James Willson, who had surveyed the patent and who had been high sheriff of Albany County. His son seems to have married a second of the daughters, named Eleanor. As early as 1748 missionaries under the influence of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton and Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, who founded a school for Indian youth at Lebanon, Conn., the school in which the able Indian leader, Joseph Brant, received a civilized education, established themselves at Oghwaga and other spots, leading

to intercourse with a class of men passing to and fro superior to the usual wayfarer of the wilds, such as John Sergeant and David Brainard, Elihu Spencer, Samuel Kirkland and the able Gideon Hawley. Among the unmarked graves in the old cemetery must be that of a young Delaware Indian, pious, educated with Joseph Brant at Lebanon, Joseph Wooley, a preacher, teacher and apostle to his people, who died at Cherry Valley on one of his journeys to the Susquehanna. Mr. Dunlop, being a university man, gathered a few pupils very early whom he taught the classics, following the plow, or in the rude log church and school house reared near the Wells residence. It was the first beginnings of liberal education, as his church was the earliest seat of worship in English west of Albany and the Hudson. Major John Frey, and others prominent in the Revolution, were here educated. All the region southwest of Canajoharie was vaguely known as Cherry Valley, its lake, Otsego, was the Cherry Valley Lake, and the narrow Indian path was gradually subdued and widened into a rugged wagon road, the Cherry Valley road. It followed Bowman's Creek and up the steep of Teckaharawa. Long the little community remained remote and lonely, an outpost of civilization on the southwest verge of the Mohawk's country, with whom and the Oneidas; next west, the most cordial relations were maintained, and for Mr. Dunlop especially the Indians conceived high regard and veneration.

After the first twenty years the immigrants became more numerous, leading to a new issue; scattered settlements began thinly to push out west, southwest and south. At Springfield and on Otsego Lake, on the Buttermut Creek and the Unadilla and Charlotte Rivers, and all along the upper Susquehanna, little clearings began to forewarn the Indians that the irresistible white man was slowly occupying his forests. Every settler was a hunter, scouring the woods for game, slaughtering the pigeon roosts and sweeping the streams of their fish. The Germans were pushing up the Mohawk; by 1750 and '60 beyond the Falls Hill (Little Falls), a strong community had been gathered about the German Flatts, and a string of forts traced a road of growing travel right through the territory of the Oneidas to the lakes. The land of the Mohawks, eastward, had been reduced to scattered patches interspersed among the hold-

ings and great patents of the whites. The savage freely sold or gave his land, but awoke later to see that his home and his haunts were gone, and his means of subsistence were too slender to be shared with all these new-comers. The intelligent young chief of the tribe, Tha-yen-da-na-gue, by his English name Joseph Brant, enjoyed the entire confidence of Sir William Johnson, co-operating in his enlightened plans and policy in the management of Indian affairs and by procuring them civilized advantages endeavoring to make up to his people what they lost by these changes. In visiting England in the interests of the claims made by the Indians, where the most flattering attentions were shown him by the court and the great officials of the government in London, it came about inevitably that he contracted ties and gained a point of view which naturally made him their ally in any changes which were later to arise.

To stay the discontent of the Indians and fix a limit beyond which the inroads of the settlers should cease, was the object of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. Three thousand Indians gathered with their chiefs to meet Sir William Johnson, the King's Indian Superintendent, and it was covenanted that the white man should not go west of the Unadilla. That river and a line extended south to the Delaware (coinciding with the present western boundary of Delaware and Otsego Counties) should be the limit of all further advance of the despoiling settlers. This Indian line was a continental affair; of imperial extent it shut out civilization from the whole Great Lake region, including the western part of New York and the adjoining part of Pennsylvania and the entire northwest territory to the Ohio River. It passed down the Susquehanna and by the Towanda Creek to the Alleghany. The last parcel of ground on the Susquehanna was taken up at the mouth of the Unadilla in 1770 by a friend of Mr. Dunlop's, Rev. William Johnston, with a colony of his Scotch-Irish compatriots from Duaneburg, driven first from Worcester, Mass., by Congregational intolerance, to New Hampshire, and thence to Schenectady. Johnston's ordination they declared "disorderly" and burnt his church. But as that cause of Indian unrest promised settlement, grave disputes were rising among the whites themselves, the colonies against England,

disputes about stamped paper and ancient rights and taxation without representation—matters that were utterly beyond the Indians' comprehension. They had been skillfully bound by Sir William in attachment to the King; their powder and ball, their blankets and hatchets, their gratuities of food against the bitter winter starvation, all came from the good King; and they were bewildered as they now saw a deepening revolt and hatred against this beneficent friend; the militiamen or rifle ranger carving on his powder horn the rude couplet, beneath some ruder caricature of Britian's monarch,

I, powder, and my brother, ball,
Foemen are to tyrants all.

But the quarrel grew, and the Indian could not fail to be involved in it. Hope of aid from him induced the Tories to tamper with his love of blood and plunder; the King's ministers even offered bounties for the scalps of rebels, \$20.00 for a baby's scalp. Dread of him led the Colonials to cross measures; to coax him to take their side, to persuade him to stand aloof, yet to send one and another threatening expedition into his country prepared to treat with Brant; or capture him, burn his villages, destroy his crops of corn, beans and pumpkins, and cut down his apple trees. The Mohawks, after the battles of Concord and Lexington in 1775, were led to retire in a body to Canada, the exciting news of the Patriots' resistance being so made use of by Colonel Guy Johnson that the whole tribe regarded war as upon them. They left their memorial in the name of the river, but it was an exile from which they were never to return. Indians were here and there shot or captured, and not seldom scalped; Tim. Murphy boasted his record of forty Indians killed by his one hand. Finally the large military operations connected with the campaign against Burgoyne threw the savages over to the side of the King in hot anger and revenge. If a people do not take up war until passion is roused, this ingredient was now furnished. The story of St. Leger's expedition to the Mohawk Valley from Oswego, the attempt on Fort Schuyler and the bloody ambuscade at Oriskany, is too long to be introduced here; but the awful slaughter inflicted on the Indians at Oriskany, especially the Senekees, while themselves inflicting an equal carnage

upon the Provincials, sent them howling back to their villages and vowing desperate revenge for the loss of a hundred of their braves, and particularly against Cherry Valley, for when Herkimer was felled and Colonel Cox and many other officers slain at the outset, it was Colonel Campbell and Major Clyde, both Cherry Valley men, who directed the stubborn continuance of the fight and brought off the remnant of the force, retreating but substantially victorious.

That was in 1777. Burgoyne's grand scheme failed; invasion was averted from the rich grain lands of the Mohawk, and there seemed hope for the inhabitants of the frontier, where the Oneidas, at least, under the guidance of their missionary adviser, Mr. Kirkland, seemed not disposed to be unfriendly to the patriotic cause.

But the British in New Jersey had found Washington hard to handle, and in hope of weakening him Brant, the Butlers and other Royalist leaders on the border were directed to spread such alarm and create such distress and devastation as to draw away detachments for its relief. A regiment under Colonel Ickabod Alden, the Sixth Massachusetts, made up in part of friends of the Cherry Valley people, but most inefficiently commanded, was at Albany, and in May started on its way to garrison the frontier posts. Schoharie was barely saved by the arrival of help in July; at Cobleskill, earlier, occurred a fight and defeat by Brant, in which Captain Patrick was killed, and German Flatts so late as September 17th was burnt, and yet before any aid reached it; so tardy was the action of Alden, as well as of the local military. The main body of the regiment, 230 strong, with the lieutenant colonel, destined for Cherry Valley, only arrived July 24th, the colonel himself only on the 30th. Springfield had been burnt June 18th, and a swarm of fleeing refugees from every quarter had brought the news of the shocking slaughter, on July 3rd, at Wyoming, and well-founded rumors of what was being planned against their own settlement. On remote farms the rapid-moving chief appeared, requiring every man to declare for the King or flee with wife and little ones. The hope of Brant would seem to have been, while guiding his tribes in a war in aid of the royal cause, to keep their savage impulses in check. Thus he burnt Springfield, but first gathered the women and chil-

dren into a house to be saved. He burnt German Flatts, but the people had already taken refuge in the forts on the river. Against Cherry Valley in particular he must have been reluctant to move, for the people were his personal friends. John Wells had been the respected associate of Sir William Johnson in public affairs at Johnstown, both, it is true, now dead, but the families still intimate. In the French war Wells had built a fort at Oghwaga for the Indians, and he and Colonel Campbell had served as officers under Johnson at Fort Edward. Mr. Dunlop had been in happier times an adviser and sharer with Brant in the missionary and civilizing projects which he had promoted. Colonel Clyde and his apprentice with Mr. Kirkland, about the year 1770, had erected a church for the Oneidas at their castle, an enterprise such as Brant assisted with warm approval and by raising money. Brant was a frequent visitor and old acquaintance of Mrs. Clyde's, who as Catherine Wasson, at Schenectady, had been the friend and playmate of the beautiful Lady of Johnson Hall, his sister, Mollie Brant. Even a man like Colonel John Butler, who commanded at Wyoming, said afterwards that he would have gone on his hands and knees to save the Wells family.

But society was cloven asunder, and in the unscrupulous Walter Butler, his son, and his crew of Tories, Brant was fated to co-operate with men that put all humane considerations at defiance. The spirit of the Indians was hard to control; his own Mohawks felt that their lands were gone forever; and the Tories, a bad lot generally, included every low renegade and every unmitigated brute on the border. The strife degenerated to utter butchery, and Brant must bear the odium. An incentive to rapine with such men, not often noticed, was the prospect of ransom for captives, women and children, and the sale of such slaves as could be raided away. Mention is made in the list of captives of "Mr. Dunlop's negro wench" and other slaves, who were carried off, even when white captives were set free; and of these latter the families of men of importance were likely to be retained as prisoners in order to keep their husbands and fathers busy and anxious for their recovery, and so cripple their activity in the war.

It was a summer of terror. The large buildings of Colonel

Campbell had been stockaded early in the year. General Lafayette at Johnstown advised the erection of a large fortification round the grave yard and commodious church. Early in June the people moved in here, with the fugitives from Springfield and nearby places, together with those from Unadilla under Rev. Mr. Johnston, who was made chaplain of the garrison, while his sons enlisted or scouted. All along urgent appeals and efforts had been made to secure defenders, with little success. Of 600 militia summoned at Canajoharie only 200 responded. At Cherry Valley there were only 80 armed men in July, owing to the demands of the harvest and for the soldiers elsewhere. June 5 Clyde reports to General Stark, "from 6-700 cattle feeding within a circle of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and not over 30 men that would stand their ground if attacked." He pleads for assistance to save these large supplies from being "lost to freedom." Yet Brant, spying from the overlooking Lady Hill, refrained from an attempt to surprise it with a small force he had, by mistaking a train of children playing soldier with sticks on the green before Colonel Campbell's house, for a body of troops. It was in seeking to waylay a messenger who might explain this mysterious force that his own valued friend, Lieutenant Wormuth, or Wormwood, of Palatine, on his return from announcing the actual approach of a few militiamen under Colonel Ford, was shot at "Wormwood rock" in the ravine of Teckaharawa. The rock is still pointed out, called Brant's Rock, from behind which the Indian who was with him rashly and against his orders shot down his boyhood neighbor as he rode by on his horse, his orderly making his escape to carry the news of the tragedy to the friends of both men; for Brant's ancestral home was at Canajoharie.

Cherry Valley in the forty years since its settlement had grown to be a place of some sixty families, including some exceptionally intelligent and prominent persons. Judge John Wells had died, but Mr. Dunlop was still living, and the Wells homestead was occupied by the large family of Robert Wells. Captain Robert McKean, an intrepid Indian fighter, was active with a body of rangers scouting everywhere, gathering information and watching the movements of the foe. The important family of the Harpers had

lately moved to the Charlotte Valley, but operated their mill at the Beaver Dam to furnish lumber for completing the redouts. Colonel Campbell we have seen at the Battle of Oriskany; and among those most to be relied upon was Samuel Clyde, a veteran of the earlier wars; bred a ship carpenter, he had built naval docks at Halifax and batteaux for the expedition to Ticonderoga, and had fought at Frontenac. At Schenectady he had married his brave wife, a woman of superior mind, a niece of Matthew Thornton, the patriot leader of New Hampshire and signer of the Declaration of Independence.

The emphatic choice of the Patriot cause by the people of Cherry Valley had been publicly declared as early as 1775. A liberty meeting was held in the church to express sympathy with the people of Boston, and to ratify the acts of the Continental Congress. They denounced the attempts of the Tories at Johnstown through the Grand Jury to commit Tryon County to the Royalist cause. The strong Whig sentiments of the place, against the plans of the Johnsons and Colonel Butler's Highlanders, were voiced in fiery speeches from Thomas Spencer, an Indian interpreter of rude eloquence, and from Mr. John Moore, a man of ability and education, Delegate from Tryon County in the Provincial Congress, but incapacitated for war service by a lameness. He with Campbell and Clyde were on the Committee of Safety for Palatine district, and two others, James Willson and Hugh Mitchell, served later on the Schenectady Committee. A letter from these earnest men to the Committee at Albany imploring help to save the frontier, concludes as follows: "In a word, gentlemen, it is our fixed resolution to support and carry into execution everything recommended by the Continental Congress, and to be free or die." Yet their sobriety and firm religious principle are attested as well by a letter to the Palatine Committee objecting to a meeting needlessly called on a Sunday: "For unless the necessity of the committee sitting super-exceed the duties to be performed in attending the public worship of God, we think it ought to be put off till another day."

Sir William Johnson had died in 1774. The truculent Toryism of Guy Johnson, his successor, aroused deep hostility, which led him either to feel or feign fear for his own safety. He declared

that he was in danger of capture by the "Bostonians," and with the body of Mohawks retired, first to Fort Stanwix, and finally to Montreal. He here co-operated with Sir Guy Carlton in fomenting the hatred of the Cayugas and Senecas. From Canada round by the lakes and forests, and up the Susquehanna to Oghwaga and Unadilla, where Brant had his rendezvous in the rear of Cherry Valley, trickled mingling rivulets, red coats, green-clad riflemen and Canadian half-breeds, Tories and malcontents, and gathering bands of stealthy Indians, driving out all who would not declare for King George, and concentrating a force of 1,500 to 2,000 men. Along the flats of the streams, under British incitement, wide fields of corn and vegetables were planted for feeding them.

Yet the summer passed away and no attempt had been made on Cherry Valley. Colonel Alden, an eastern man unused to Indian ways, could not realize the danger, notwithstanding the scenes going on around him, and the serious advice of citizens of experience. "The depredations were from small bands; he would send out and arrest them." His theory was that savages would never stand against disciplined soldiers; besides, they had artillery, two swivel guns. The families in the fort were not allowed to remain; instead, he quartered his officers in their houses, himself with his lieutenant colonel fixing his headquarters at that of Robert Wells, a quarter of a mile from the fort. There is marrying and giving in marriage, nevertheless, as well as eating and much drinking, in the midst of warlike alarms. Lieutenant McKendry in his Journal records, September 9, Captain McKean returned from a scout to Unadilla with two prisoners, and October 22 is present at the captain's marriage to Mrs. Jenny Campbell. The day following he is at the wedding of Sergeant Elijah Dickerman and Letty Gibbons. "Drank 7 Galls. wine." Lieutenant Colonel Stacy and Captain Ballard have a horse race and Stacy wins the bet. Viewing some horses at John Campbell's he "drinks cyder," and "milk punch" at Mr. Ramsie's with Captain Parker; milk punch also at Alden's headquarters "when Fort Allen is named by Capt. Hickling." He goes "to Harmony Hall and drank some Grog," and goes to Harmony Hall again some days later, what for not said, but presumably same refreshment. October 15 he "wet his appointment,"

"wine 28 dollars," and Lieutenant William White wets his, "Wine Amt. 36 dollars." Surely our liberties were achieved not without mighty wrestling with the liquor interest. But they were all in it. The very first day of his arrival he records apparently a visit of courtesy upon a family friend of other days. "Went to Rev'd Mr. Dunlop's & drank sillabub while discoursing the old Gentleman about sundries affairs."

Brant meanwhile ceases his activities not a moment. His design may perhaps have been by repeated alarms and threats to frighten his friends in the place into taking flight, and then to attack the stockade, a measure of legitimate war. But two things conspired to defeat such a design, if he entertained it; in the first place many of the people did flee, as did Mr. Dunlop, removing to Albany the best of his goods. But September and October passed, and winter beginning with November in that elevated climate, they came back, partly to care for their stock, partly thinking the danger was passed from the lateness of the season. So that when the blow came it was far more calamitous than the Indian leader expected it to be. In the second place, his own situation was affected by a blow dealt him from Schoharie under orders from the energetic Governor Clinton. There was a patriot Colonel Butler there, William, who with great speed crossed his regiment from the Schoharie through the forest to the Delaware, and thence down the Owleout to the Susquehanna, and on a rapid sweep uprooted both Unadilla and Oghwaga; a stroke which had it been accomplished earlier might have saved the whole frontier. Brant gave up the contest for the season and was on his way to Niagara to winter, but at Tioga Point he met Walter Butler with his motley force wild with the project of an attack on Cherry Valley. Brant was reluctant to return, reluctant to serve under Butler, whom he despised. Perhaps he hoped by being present to guide counsels and mitigate some features of the stroke, from which everything was to be feared. At all events he consented to join the enterprise. There was a disused trail, midway, neglected by the scouts sent out south and west; by this they stole around the hills, delayed by bad weather, yet undiscovered, till they reached the rear of the settlement after daylight on the 11th of November. A notification from Colonel

Gansevoort at Fort Schuyler had told of the meeting of Butler and Brant at Tioga and of their starting for Cherry Valley. But the pickets were merely dispatched along the usual roads, the feeble scouts were captured, the onset had all the advantage of a surprise, and the incredulous Alden at the Wells house was caught before he could reach the fort. They numbered about 800 men, of whom 30 were British troops under four officers, 600 Indians, principally Senecas under the bitterly cruel Hiokatoo (whose wife was widely known as Mary Jamieson), and 150 Tories, many in Indian paint and of worse than Indian atrocity.

The wakeful Mrs. Clyde had dreamed of Indian alarms and of warnings from Mollie Brant, and at daylight urged her husband to repair to the fort and learn if all were right. He had not time to return when a wounded rider came in with the word that the foe had overtaken and shot him. The signal gun was fired, a dismal rainy morning. Mrs. Clyde being prepared, gathered her family and fled to the ravine as the savages emerged from the forest behind. There were eight children besides an apprentice and a little dog. The babe never wailed, the dog did not bark. The rain turned to sleet and snow, yet all escaped after a night's exposure and terror, a relief party coming out from the fort and all running the gauntlet of the enemy's fire in crossing the open ground in front of the palisade. A battle raged here for hours, renewed on the 12th, but the cannon compelled the foe to retire. Colonel Clyde was luckily within, and he seems to have assumed the command, or it might have been taken, as nearly all its officers were surprised at their quarters in the house of the settlement.

The Wells house had been the first to be attacked. They were at worship when the rifle of a Tory felled the head of the household. The whole family were slain, Robert Wells, his wife and four children, his mother, brother and sister and three domestics, together with the guard of Colonel Alden. Having secured the Lieutenant Colonel, Stacy, Brant demanded, "Who runs there?" and being told, "The colonel," he turned over his prisoner and pursued the fugitive, calling on him to surrender. Alden turned to use his pistol, but the tomahawk flew and he fell in the roadway. The body, dragged to one side, was found on a spot still pointed out just

below the ascent to the Wells house. This is the account given in a MS. by Judge George C. Clyde, and the account also related to me personally by Mr. George Ripley, both of them grandsons of Colonel Clyde; namely that Colonel Alden was killed by Brant himself, but, as he alleged, in self-defence. A pillar of concrete with marble tablet erected on this spot marks the occurrence.

Every foot of the Cherry Valley soil has its tale of the experiences of that day. Hugh Mitchell avoided the Indians, but gained his house to find his wife and four children left for dead, two being carried captives. One child showed signs of life, and as he was in the act of restoring her the blow of a Tory extinguished the spark; all that was left was to load the corpses on a sled, and over the fresh fallen snow, bring and lay them with the ghastly rows with which the great trench was being filled. He recognized his near neighbour, a Royalist renegade named Newbury, as the man who committed this brutal act, and he had the satisfaction, later, of bringing him to the gallows for his crime. Mitchell lies buried at Cherry Valley at the age of 102 years.

Mrs. Elizabeth Dickson escaped with her children to the hill behind the house, but her infant fretting she ventured back for milk and did not return. The daughter, Eleanor, peering about, at length saw a scalpsickle on which, drying, among others waved a tress of brilliant aburn of a color such as there was none other in the settlement but her mother's. The Campbell home was defended so valiantly by the aged Captain Cannon, the grandfather, a naval veteran, that the Indians let him go; but his wife was captured, and, too feeble to make the journey, was struck down in the snow by an Indian the next day, and her body was buried at the fort. It may have been this piece of barbarity which led Brant to insist on the release of the majority of the women and children. Forty-five of these were now permitted to return. The thirty-four carried off, as reported in a return by Colonel Harper shortly after, included all males captured and the families of prominent persons, and likewise some eight or ten negroes. Thirty-three inhabitants were massacred and fourteen of the regiment, besides the colonel. Colonel Campbell was absent at the time; his wife was captured with her infant and other children, except one, William, rescued and carried to the

river by a faithful slave. He was afterwards Surveyor General of the State. Mrs. Campbell's experience was most harrowing. The murdered Mrs. Cannon was her mother. With the little babe in her arms she made the bitter journey all the way down the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, and up the Chemung to the Seneca Castle. Here she passed the winter, not ill-treated by the Indians, but destitute of sufficient clothing and in deepest anxiety about her children's fate as well as of her friends. One day a squaw asked her why she wore the linen cap, then the mark of a lady, saying she had such a cap, and produced it. Mrs. Campbell recognized it as the one worn by her loved friend, Jane Wells! Towards spring the British officers at Fort Niagara, hearing that there was a lady who was a prisoner at the Castle, sent a messenger on horseback with a supply of female raiment and provisions for her relief. As soon as the season permitted she was carried to Fort Niagara and by the officers ransomed from the Indians, she returning the kindness by services with her needle, until she was sent to Montreal. After nearly two years of captivity she was exchanged for a Mrs. Butler and her children. In the cartel boat on Lake Champlain she was accompanied by several young ladies who had been at school at Montreal and were detained by the hostilities till this opportunity of a return, and after being fired upon and landed in the wilds of Vermont, owing to a false alarm, they all reached their friends in Albany. Two of the Campbell boys were lost among the Indians and adopted by them. Matthew returned adorned with ornaments of silver and diamonds, doubtless rifled from the body of some slain officer. The Indians had adopted him as a chief, and treated him with honor. The other son, James, six years old, was lost for some three years, forgetting his small knowledge of the English speech. Shortly after his restoration occurred the tour of General Washington over this frontier, who being entertained at Colonel Campbell's house, held this interesting child upon his knee. He lived to be ninety-eight, when the present writer attended his funeral in 1870. After the Civil war he was taken to Albany and shook the hand of General Grant. He was the father of the author of the *Annals of Tryon County*, and grandfather of Douglas Campbell who wrote "*The Puritan in Holland, England and America.*"

The Massachusetts troops passed the winter in the fort, and in June following joined the expedition under General Sullivan at Otsego Lake. The fort was dismantled and the church eventually burnt, as were practically all the buildings of the place. Four years later, on the 18th of April, 1781, a second descent was made on the few venturesome people who had returned to Cherry Valley, by a band of eighty men, who killed eight persons and took fourteen prisoners. Till that year Captain McKean had been as ever active, but that summer Colonel Willett with 150 Americans fought a battle with from 200 to 300 Indians at Durlagh (Torlock), some miles east of Cherry Valley, winning a fine victory, but the brave captain was carried off by his men wounded to his death.

When Mr. Dunlop returned from Albany that Autumn to see to his affairs for the winter, together with his wife and daughter (unmarried) he was accompanied by his married daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Willson, and by a young man to whom Elizabeth expected to be married. This young man was killed. Elizabeth passed the later years of her life at Bernardsville, N. J., in the home of her niece, Mrs. Dr. Boyland, and as "Aunt Whitie" was well remembered by her great niece, who died at over ninety, a year ago, the mother of Bishop Fitzgerald of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The effects saved from Cherry Valley were burnt in a fire at Bernardsville, and Mrs. Fitzgerald related that the daughter of Mr. Dunlop used to say that her greatest regret in this fire was not the household articles so much as the loss of the family coat of arms, the mark of their respectable standing. The arms of the Dunlops forms an adornment of the tablet set up in the Cherry Valley Church.

Mrs. Dunlop at the moment of the alarm happened to have in her arms the child of the negro slave woman. When they said the barn was on fire she stepped to the door to look and was shot by a bullet from an unseen hand. In the rush that followed some unfeeling brute severed the arm that held the child and flung it into an apple tree that stood long after nearby. Violence to Mr. Dunlop was averted for a moment by the astonishment of the Indian who would have scalped him at seeing come off in his hand the wig which he wore as a gentlemen of position; when a chief

named Little Aaron interposed to save the venerable pastor, shocked and prostrated already almost to his death by the awful scenes that were to end his peaceful labors. He and his unmarried daughter were prisoners, but were soon released and made their way with the wretched train of some 200 others that were reported by Colonel Clyde as rendered destitute by the calamity. He soon died, probably at Schenectady, but where his ashes repose is not known.

His little grandson, John Wells, was the only member of that family who survived that day. Mrs. Willson just before the massacre besought her sister, Mary Wells, to allow her to take this child with her back to Schenectady, where he had shown great aptitude in a few weeks' schooling he had enjoyed that summer, and she left Cherry Valley with some officers a day or so before the attack. He lived to graduate at Princeton and to become the most eminent lawyer in New York City. As a young man he co-operated with Alexander Hamilton in the publication of the "Federalist" newspaper, and some of the pieces in it attributed to the older hands were said to be from his pen. At his untimely death from yellow fever, in 1832, a bust of his beautiful head was placed in old Grace Church, with this inscription: "Erected by the Bar of New York as a tribute of their respect for the memory of John Wells, who adorned their profession by his integrity, eloquence and learning."

This monument is now one of the most beautiful adornments of St. Paul's Chapel in Broadway.

One of the most vividly lifelike accounts of the experiences and privations of those who escaped the hands of the Indians at the time of the massacre, as well as a most interesting sketch of the difficulties and hardships of the immigrants in the period of poverty previous to the war, is given from the life of one who survived them, in "Jane Ferguson's Narrative," who in extreme age, but in a most intelligent manner, dictated the tale of her people's settlement a few miles west of Cherry Valley, now Springfield, a number of years before the war of the Revolution, of their retreat to the neighborhood of Schenectady, their starving life through the years of strife, and the bitter struggles of the return. It is too

long to be quoted here and would lose its interest in an abridgement. It was published in the American Historical Magazine of the D. A. R.

Immediately upon the close of the war the Cherry Valley people returned to rebuild their homes. The ancient trustee's book of the Church bears on its first page, in a hand writing like a piece of fine engraving, the quaint record of a gathering at the ruins of their sanctuary among the graves of their kindred and hard by the trench where the victims of the fatal day were buried. "We the ancient inhabitants of Cherry Valley, having returned from exile, finding ourselves destitute of our church officers, to wit, elders and deacons:—our legislature having enacted a law for the relief of those, etc."—they proceeded to appoint a day for the rehabilitation of their Zion. The rude and simple edifice was built, but it was not till 1796, eighteen years after the cessation of Mr. Dunlop's labors, that a pastor could be secured in a young man of talent, who with the pulpit assumed charge of the Academy, then just chartered under the newly founded Regents of the University. A marble tablet was erected in the church, in 1904, the gift of a grandson of this young divine and teacher, the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York. It reads as follows:

The Reverend Eliphalet Mott, D. D. LL. D.
Clarum Et Venerabile Nomen,
for sixty-one years President of Union College,
was from 1796 till 1798
Minister of this Church and in the Academy here
began his career as
EDUCATOR.

There is also in the church a memorial brass to Judge William W. Campbell, referred to above as the author of a very early book upon the history of this frontier, to which every writer on the subject must ever be indebted, "The Annals of Tryon County, or the Border Warfare of New York." He is commemorated as "Vir bonus, Judex justus, Institutionum Amicus."

The writer acknowledges the help derived at many points from "The Old New York Frontier" by Francis W. Halsey, the best treatment of the general subject yet written.

NOTES.

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Mr. Roseboom held the responsible position of Cruyt Magassijn Meester, or "Powder Master," at Albany continuously from 1771 to 1786, embracing the entire period of the war. His "Powder Book" records "June 10, 1777, 100 barrels, loaded by order of Mr. Philip van Renselaer, 25 wagons each, 4 bar'l." This ammunition was used in the campaign against Burgoyne. The "Receipt Book" of his son, Col. Myndert Roseboom, as one of the "Commissioners, Middle District, Albany," is full of receipts of moneys for food and supplies gathered for "the poor, distressed people" and the "Refugees;" extending from Sept. 16, 1777 to April 2, 1778, the time when the pinch of war was sternly felt in the upper Hudson and Mohawk Valleys.

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The famous "Tim" Murphy boasted his record of forty (40) Indians killed by his own hand. The following story of him survives at Cherry Valley. On a geological shelf or terrace in the hills west of the village, there was a high level trail, by following which the savages could pass around unseen, meandering with the hills, but keeping above the houses. An Indian passing by on this track and seeing Murphy within hail conferring with Clyde and Wells, was tempted to call out an insulting challenge and passed on. The marksman knew that he would return, lay for him concealed, and shot him as he reached the spot where he had uttered the insult.

See Page 82.

Halsey. The reason assigned by Col. Johnson for the building of this fort was that "the fort at Cherry Valley was too far distant;" implying the existence of such a stronghold there at the time of the French War. It would naturally be a stockade enclosing the house and premises of Wells himself on the hill, and doubtless included the shelter of the log church which tradition locates on that hill near the Wells house. There is no local recollection of such a fort, but at the very first there must have been a protection against surprise and treachery such as a fortified house. The good terms on which the people at Cherry Valley lived with the Indians caused all trace of both these forts to disappear very soon. A body of 800 men was raised at Canajoharie in the French War and 100 of them were sent to Cherry Valley.

The need of a fort at Oghwaga for the Indians was the direct result of Brad-dock's defeat, which threatened to carry the Indians of Pennsylvania and the Western New York tribes over to the French, since they seemed to be more powerful than the English. Pontiac's war, in 1763-4, and the resulting disturbance and famine, broke up the Mission at Oghwaga, the school being removed to the foot of Otsego Lake, where it would be within easy reach at Cherry Valley.

IRISH COLONISTS IN NEW YORK

BY M. J. O'BRIEN, NEW YORK.

Students of the Colonial records will not have to travel far before they find justification for the statement of Ramsay, the historian of North Carolina, when he wrote in 1789 that:

"The Colonies which now form the United States may be considered as Europe transplanted. Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Italy furnished the original stock of the present population, and are generally supposed to have contributed to it in the order named. For the last seventy or eighty years no nation has contributed nearly so much to the population of America as Ireland."

While it is generally conceded that Irish immigrants played an important role in the upbuilding of the American Republic, there has been, somehow, a notable paucity of recognition of their splendid services on the part of the historians. Whatever honors they received were given grudgingly, many writers giving merely a passing reference to their unselfish patriotism, and, when others covered themselves with vicarious glory, it pleased the average writer of history to let the Irishman remain in partial oblivion.

But the tide has turned. When this scholarly body has tendered to me the invitation to speak on the subject of "Irishmen in the Colony of New York," I feel as though the men of my race have at last received the recognition denied them by the early historians. The development was tardy, but is none the less appreciative.

Although it does not appear that Irish immigrants settled in the Province of New York as early as in other sections of the country, yet as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century we find Irish names mentioned frequently in the records of this colony. The great exodus from Ireland during the Cromwellian period steered its course either in the direction of New England or the Plantations of the Carolinas and Virginia, rather than to New

York. Philadelphia was at that time the great port of entry. New York had not attained the pre-eminence it now enjoys, though the Irish exodus has considerably diminished, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Douglas Hyde and the Gaelic League.

In the pages of early American history are many interesting sidelights relating to the standing of Irishmen, not alone in the centers of colonial life and activity along the Atlantic Coast, but out along the borders of the forest, in the wild and uncultivated tracts of country where their implacable enemy was the ruthless redskin.

Everywhere do we come across them in the early records. In the cities, merchants, professional men and gentlemen of fortune; in the open country, farmers, laborers, artisans, Indian traders and schoolmasters, all engaged in the same work, advance agents in the march of civilization. Only a few, comparatively, are mentioned in official records. These were the men who, by their indomitable pluck and energy, demolished the barriers of prejudice and bigotry, and rose above the mass prosperous and triumphant to take the place to which they were entitled in the affairs of the day. It would add considerably to the sum of human knowledge if we could trace the careers of these humble but patriotic citizens, but we shall be debarred from its enjoyment until some qualified historian shall arise who will undertake the task.

To present a really comprehensive account of the great transatlantic migration which set out from Ireland during the Cromwellian period would need the substance of many volumes. In the space allotted to me, therefore, I shall simply skim over the surface, and by the aid of qualified authorities endeavor to indicate the proportion of this Irish immigration which settled in the Province of New York, the character of the prominent settlers written down in the early records and the localities which principally profited by the settlements which they founded.

The first mention of an Irishman in the colony of New York is that of a sailor named Coleman, who was killed by Indians in 1609 at Sandy Hook. O'Callaghan in his "Documentary History of New York," states that this place "was formerly called Coleman's Point in commemoration of the Irish sailor." In the same histori-

cal work are found men named Gill, Barrett and Ferris, "settlers and Indian fighters in New Netherland in 1657," and, in 1673, Patrick Dowdall, John Fitzgerald, Benjamin Cooley, Thomas Bassett, L. Collins and Thomas "Guinn" (Quinn) were enrolled in the militia. In 1674 John Cooley was a witness on the trial of a Captain Manning in New York.

In O'Callaghan's "Register of New Netherland" we find in a list of physicians in New York City in 1647 the name of Dr. William Hayes, formerly of Barry's Court, Ireland. A Dr. Hughes was also a surgeon in New Netherland in 1657. Richard Gibbons and John Morris are mentioned as magistrates at Gravesend in 1651 and 1653; John Cochrane as overseer in 1663, and John Moore in 1652.

Captain Christopher Goffe of the ship Catherine was made prisoner in New York in 1690 for speaking seditiously of the English Governor.

According to Broadhead, Captain Daniel Patrick was the first white settler in Greenwich, Conn. He had come from Boston with forty men to assist the Connecticut troops in the war with the Pequot Indians. In 1639 he and one Robert Feake established a settlement on what is now Greenwich, which was then a portion of the Colony of New York. Governor Peter Stuyvesant granted him town rights in that year. His name is said to have been originally Gilpatrick, which is an Anglicized form of the old Irish clan name, Mac Giolla Patrick.

In the "Census of the City of New York of the Year 1703," appear such names as Mooney, Dooley, Walsh, Carroll, Dauly (Daly?), Corbett, Coleman, Curre, Kenne, Gillen, Collum (McCullum) Morray, Munvill, Gurney, Mogann (Mcgann), Buckley Jordan, Hardin, Waters, a Dr. Defany and many others common to Irish nomenclature. Thirty years after that date are found, in addition to those mentioned, such names as McLennon, Lynch, Raftry, Sutton, Hanlon, Quealie, Ray, Darcy, "Dwire," Blake and Devoe, as well as Clarkes, Whites and Brownes, whose Christian names clearly indicate their Irish origin. These names were among others signed to a petition to the Governor, dated September 23, 1737, demanding the removal of the Sheriff of New York.

In the muster rolls of the militia of the City of New York in the year 1737, are enumerated such Irish names as Welsh, McDowell, Ryan, Baldwin, Mooney, Hayes, Dorlon, Manning "Murfey," Lowry, Magee, Killey, Gill, Sutton, Farley, Sullivan, McMullen, Ray, Hanley, O'Brien, Cansaly and Morgan. There are also Smiths and Browns and such like names, some of whom bore Irish Christian names.

Andrew Meade, a native of Kerry, settled early in New York, but subsequently removed to Virginia, where he died in 1745. He was the father of Colonel Richard K. Meade, an aide-de-camp of Washington, and was the grandfather of Bishop William Meade of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia.

One would scarcely expect to find an Irishman in the old Dutch settlement of Beverwyck as early as the year 1645. The first Dutchmen were very jealous of their profitable trade relations with the Indians. They were a very exclusive set, who drew entirely within themselves when a stranger ventured within their gates. One Irishman, however, seems to have burrowed his way into their affections. His name was John Anderson from Dublin, and it is curious to find that every mention of this old pioneer in the early records is accompanied by the description of "the Irishman." He is mentioned in the old Dutch records as "Jan Andriessen de Iersman van Dublingh," and as an instance of his popularity among his neighbors he is affectionately referred to as "Jantie" or "Jantien," meaning "Johnnie" or "little Johnnie." He bought considerable land at Albany and Catskill. He died in Albany in 1664.

John Connell was a soldier in Albany in 1666. He married and bought property there, and in 1670 is recorded as selling his house to one Stuart. Thomas Powell, an Irishman, was a baker in Albany from 1656 to 1671. Anna Daly married Everardus Bogardus, grandson of the celebrated Anneke Janse Bogardus, on December 4, 1675. James Larkin was in Governor Dongan's employ in 1687 as "keeper of the granary," and in the same year his countryman, William Shaw, was surveyor of customs in Albany, and was later appointed by Dongan Sheriff of the county. William Hogan was in Albany in 1692, where he is described as

"Willem Hogen van Bor in Yrlandt in de Kings County." His name is on a list of jurymen who in 1703 tried his countryman, "Johnnie" Finn, in an action for recovery of rent. This Finn is described in some of the old Dutch records in this wise: "Jan Fyne (also as "Johannes Fine"), cooper, van Waterfort in Irlandt." Finn was married in the Dutch Church at Albany on June 4, 1696.

From 1693 to 1743 the names of many of the descendants of the pioneer, William Hogan, appear in the baptismal records of this church, although the name is generally spelled "Hoogen," "Hoggen" and "Hoghing."

Robert Barrett was in 1699 appointed a night watchman for the city, and in the following year Edward Corbett and Robert Barrett received licenses as city carters. In 1701 Nicholas Blake was elected a city constable. Lieutenant John Collins was a lawyer in Albany in 1703, and his son, Edward, was Mayor in 1733 and recorder of the city in 1746. Patrick Martin married Mary Cox at Albany on March 15, 1707.

In a list of freeholders of the City of Albany in 1720 the names of William Hogan, Daniel Kelley and John Collins appear, and seven years later the list contains the names of William Hogan, Jr., Edward Collins, Michael Bassett and John Hogan. In 1755 Philip Mullen was a fire master of the city, and Philip Ryley had the important post of winder of the town clock. John McDuffie was Sheriff of the county and Superintendent of State Prisons in 1765. Mrs. Grant, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," mentions "a handsome, good-natured looking Irishman in a ragged Provincial uniform," named Patrick Coonie, who, with his wife and children, settled near Albany in 1763.

The name of McCarthy is met with very frequently in these records. Patrick, John and Dennis McCarthy were among the earliest of the family, having been in Albany between 1736 and 1748. David McCarthy, a native of Cork, mentioned as very active in Albany's Committee of Safety, was a Revolutionary soldier, and at the time of his death was a general of militia. On May 6, 1771, he married a granddaughter of Peter Coeymans, the founder of an old Dutch family, and thereby became possessed of

much land in the Coeyman's Patent. He is said to have been a man of ability and influence and respected by the entire community. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1792, and in 1804 became county judge. His son, John B. McCarthy, was State Senator in 1826, and later, like his father, county judge.

Other McCarthy's also settled in Albany County, two of whom, daughters of Captain John McCarthy of New London, married into the celebrated Van Rensselaer family. Hugh Mitchel was one of the "Commissioners of Conspiracies" formed in Albany during the Revolution. Hugh Dennison was a prominent resident of Albany, where he is referred to as "a true Irishman." For many years he conducted the only first-class hotel there, which became a place of meeting for the liberty-loving citizens of Albany. Washington was a guest of his hotel in 1782 and in 1783, and was there presented with the freedom of the city.

In Pearson's "Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany from 1630 to 1800," are mentioned the names of numerous Irish settlers. Many of them were residents of the county long before the opening of the eighteenth century, and the manner in which the names of some of these Irish settlers are given in this nomenclature is a curious revelation into the way their original Celtic names became changed. For instance, we find "Swillivaun" for Sullivan, Patrick "Weith" for Patrick White, "Meekans" for McCann, "Mourisse" for Morrissey, "Coneel" for O'Connell, "Reyley" for Reilly, and so on. In the mutations of time, even these incongruities in names became still further changed, so that their descendants of the present day cannot be recognized at all as of Irish ancestry, and they themselves probably think they are of English or Dutch descent. The most pronounced Irish names enumerated in this book are Ahearn, Byrne, Butler, Burke, Bryan, Barrett, Costigan, Connell, Collins, Connolly, Conneway, "Coneel," Conklin, Collier, Cassiday, Curtin, Cooney, Cunningham, Cummings, Courtney, Cadogan, Cochrane, Connick, Daily, Dempsey, Dillon, Downing, "Dunnevan," "Dunnoway," Donovvan, Donegoe, Enis, Flynn, Fallon, Farrell, Fletcher, Fleming, "Glispy," "Glaspy," and Gillespie, Gilliland, Griffin, Gahigan, Haines, Hogan, Heggerty, Humphrey, Holland,

Harrington, Kelley, Keating, Kane, Kennedy, Lynch, Logan, Murphy, Morrow, Morris, Moore, Milligan, Mitchell, McManus, McGinnis, NeNeal, McCleary, McGuire, McCoy, McEntee, McCann, McVey, McHenry, McGahary, McMullen, McKee, McCut, McFarland, McBride, McCloskey, McCarthy, McClure, McGinnis, McCay, McDonald, McKinney, McCullough, McClellan, Maloney, Mahoney, Magee, Mooney, Molloy, Murray, "Mourisse," Manley, O'Brien, O'Connor and Connor, Norton, Nevin, Power, Quinn, Reilly, Ryan, Reynolds, "Swillivaun" and Sullivan, Tracy, Waters, and Welsh. Besides these were Patrick Clarke, Patrick Kellinin, Patrick "Flat," Patrick White and Patrick Constable. Many of them were men of family.

These were merchants, farmers, miners, millers and backwoods-men; the pioneers who, with their Dutch neighbors, blazed the trail of civilization through that section, rolled back the savage red man, and who marked along the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers the sites of future towns and cities.

As early as 1676 there were Irishmen in Ulster County, and in a petition sent by the inhabitants of Esopus in that county to the Provincial Governor in that year, praying to have a clergyman sent to them, were such signatories as Quirk, Shea, Gray, Danniell and McGarton. In the "Journal of the Second Esopus War" in 1663, Captain Martin Krieger refers to an Irishman named Thomas so frequently that we must conclude he acted a very prominent part in the doings of the early settlers of that section.

On the headstones in an old churchyard at Kingston are inscribed several Irish names dated as far back as 1711, one, a family named O'Neill, having been quite numerous in that section.

The baptismal and marriage records of the old Dutch Church at Kingston contain many Irish names, among which may be mentioned Cane, Cavenagh, Connor, Conway, Carroll, Corkren, Carrick, Conneway, Dailey, Dooley, Doyle, Ennis, Farrel, Flanagan, Garvey, Griffin, Gilliland, Hogan, Holland, Haaley, Harrington, Haes, Kean, Kehill, McGuiness, McKennie, McDonnell, Moore, Magee, Makoun, McKeffie, McCabie, Makartie, McKie, McGahan, Macpharlin, McFall, McKabe, McCarty, Morgan, Pouwer, Reilly, Sweeney, Welsch and so on. Some of these run back to

the first decade of the eighteenth century. The Carrolls were quite numerous, although the name is spelled, in most cases, "Karel" or "Karole." Flanagan is down as "Flanniger" and "Flanerger;" McDonnell as "Mektonel;" McMullen as "Mekmol-len;" McDonough as "Mekdonnog;" Connor as "Konners," and other Irish names are twisted into every conceivable shape and form.

In a list of freeholders in the same county in 1728 are included such names as Moore, McNeill, McCullum, Ward, Humphrey, Shaw and a Dr. Golden.

In the muster rolls of the Ulster County Militia of the year 1737 are to be found such armed defenders of the colony as Ennis, Magennis, McLean, Waters, McGregor, Davis, Moore, McNeill, Gillespies (spelled "Glaspy" and "Glispy"), Milligan, Coleman, Shaw, two Patrick Brodericks (both spelled "patrick brood-rick"), McCullum, Hayes, Humphrey, Ward, Flanigan, Patrick Gillespie, Lowry, Crane, McDonnell, Blake, Boyle, McGowan, McDonnell, McCloghrey, Sutton, Nealy, Cain, Neil, Read, McKey, McDowell and McMichael. There were several of the Humphries, McNeills and Gillespies. Last, but perhaps not least, there was a forlorn soldier styled "patherick mac peick," and if Patrick had any race pride at all I shouldn't wonder if he were not indignant enough to refuse to go out and do battle with the Indians after his name had been so badly slaughtered by the poor scribe of a corporal! Those were days, however, when "a rose by any other name did smell as sweet."

It is hardly necessary to remind this gathering that such distinguished men as Governor Thomas Dongan and Sir William Johnson were natives of the Emerald Isle, except to say that their careers were such that any American of Irish blood can point to them with pride. It was during the administration of Dongan, and under his direction that the charter decreeing that no taxes should be imposed except by act of the Assembly was adopted by the Provincial Legislature. This was a most radical change from the truly English method previously in vogue. His most prominent characteristic was his tolerance toward all forms of religion. He believed that one religious denomination had as good a right

as another to the free enjoyment of its creed and worship, and his whole career indicates that he put that theory into practical execution. In 1687 he promulgated the "Declaration of Indulgence," which authorized public worship by any sect, and abolished all religious qualifications for office.

As to Johnson I will only say that he has been described by many unthinking writers as an "Englishman," or else that he was an Irishman merely "by accident of birth." I maintain, however, that there is no historical justification for either description. There are English Johnsons and Irish Johnsons. The latter are of the purest native Celtic stock, and even today there are families of Johnsons in Ireland who are called "Mac Shane" by their neighbors almost as frequently as they are called "Johnson." By a law passed in the second year of the reign of Edward IV. of England all Irishmen who resided within what was called the "Pale," that is, within the military jurisdiction of England as it then existed, were obliged to discard their old Irish clan names and adopt in their stead English surnames, under pain of the forfeiture of their possessions. When taking on their new names some of the Irish families adopted their English synonyms. The Mac Shanes were a celebrated fighting clan who took part in the wars between the O'Neills and O'Donnells of Ulster and the English invader. Some of them are known to have settled within the Pale. Sir William Johnson was born in the County of Meath, which was within this charmed English circle. In the Gaelic language "Mac" means "the son of," and "Shane" means "John," so that when the McShanes were forced to change their names, they naturally took that which bore in English the closest resemblance to their own, namely "Johnson."

A person uninformed of the unfortunate history of Ireland, therefore, but more especially one without some knowledge of the old Gaelic names will find considerable difficulty in recognizing the descendants of some of the early Irish emigrants as being of Irish blood.

Dongan's estates were divided among his nephews, John, Thomas and Walter Dongan. Walter's son, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Dongan of the Third Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers

was killed in an attack on the British forts on Staten Island in August, 1777. John C. Dongan, one of the descendants of the Governor, represented Richmond County in the New York Assembly from 1786 to 1789. Among the Irish who settled early in Staten Island were Richard Connor, who arrived from Ireland in 1760, in which year he purchased a landed estate there. He is referred to in Clute's History of the Island as "a man of respectable acquirements and superior business qualifications, who filled all the responsible positions on the island." His son, Richard, was a prominent surveyor and held various offices of trust. He was a member of the First and Third Provincial Congress. Jeremiah Connor is mentioned as in Staten Island in 1761.

Among the members of the Colonial Assembly from Richmond County who bore Irish names were Thomas Morgan, Henry Holland, John Dongan, John C. Dongan and John Dunn.

Father Henry Harrison, an Irish Jesuit priest, was in New York in 1683, having been brought over by Governor Dongan, "to treat with the Caughnawaga Indians."

Father Harrison went back to Ireland in 1690, but returned seven years later, this time to Maryland, where he died in 1701. Another Irish missionary who labored among the Indians in New York about eighty years later was Rev. Mr. Kenny.

In a report to the Lord President, dated September 8, 1687, Governor Dongan recommends "that natives of Ireland be sent here to colonize where they may live and be very happy." Numbers of them must have accepted the invitation, for we find many Irishmen mentioned in the public documents of the Province during the succeeding years.

In another of his reports to the "Committee of Trade of the Province of New York," dated February 22, 1687, he states that very few English, Scotch or Irish families had come over to the Province during the preceding seven years, but that "on the contrary, on Long Island they increase so fast that they complain for want of land, and many remove from thence into the neighboring Province." As to the Irish on Long Island, the official lists of the inhabitants would indicate that there were large numbers of them. In the rate lists of the year 1675 of Long Island townships appear

such names as Kelly, Dalton, Whelan, Hand, Hare, Fithian, Condon, Barry and Shaw, in Easthampton; in Huntington, Powers, Bryan, Goulden, Quinn, Canye, Kane and White; in Southold, Moore, Conklin, Lyman, Coleman, Martin, Lee, White, Bradley, Griffin, Terrell, Giles, Moore, Veale and Clarke; in Flushing, Harrington, Ford, Griffin, Ward, Daniell, Clery, Patrick, Holdren and Holdrone. Edward Hart was Town Clerk of Flushing in 1638. In Brookhaven, Ward, Clarke, Norton, Davis, Sweeney, Murphy, Lane and Rogers; in Gravesend, Boyee and Goulding; in Jamaica, Creed, Ford and Freeman; in Hempstead, Sutton, Ireland, Daniell, Lee and Reilly; in Oyster Bay, McCorkel, Collins, Butler, Davis and Kirby; in Southampton, Kelly, Kennedy, Mitchel, Hughes, Cochrane, McCowan, Butler, Barrett, Moore, Hand, Shaw, Clarke, Norris and Jennings. There were several families of the same name scattered over the island. Many other landowners bearing non-Irish surnames, but Irish Christian names, such as Brighid Clement, Brighid Roberts, Bridget Scudder, Patrick Mott, and the like, I do not include. The names of these doubtless were changed before they left Ireland, under the operation of the English law already referred to.

William Welsh, one of the counsellors of William Penn, negotiated a treaty in 1683 with the Indians of Northwestern New York. He represented the Governor of Pennsylvania in negotiations with Governor Dongan in 1684 relative to a quarrel with Lord Baltimore. Nicholas Cullen signed a complaint of the inhabitants of the City of New York to the English King on June 11, 1687. In a letter from Lieutenant-Governor Leisler of New York on March 4, 1689, to the Governor of Maryland he refers to "the insolent but courageous conduct of the Papists," and how he had "suspected and apprehended two Irish rebellious traitors, placed them on a bark and sent them to Maryland." In a report to the same Leisler from Captain John Coode, dated April 4, 1690, he speaks of certain prisoners "lately in custody upon suspicion of being Irishmen and papists." Two of the prisoners, namely Healy and Walsh, who made their escape to Pennsylvania, seem to have been particularly obnoxious to the virtuous Captain Coode. These letters, in themselves, prove that many Irishmen were residents of

the Colony of New York at that time, but of the names of many of them and the places where they settled I am yet unable to find any reliable record.

In Munsell's "American Ancestry," James Murphy, who was born in Dublin, is referred to as a settler in Columbia County in 1694. He was the owner of a large tract of land and is said to have had numerous descendants. One of them, John Murphy, who was born in 1767, served in the war of 1812. Tunis Cochran, who was also born in Ireland, was a later settler in the same county. He fought in the Revolutionary War, and his son, Tunis, upheld the fighting record of the family by serving in the War of 1812. John Scott came from Ireland in 1739 and settled in Spencertown, Columbia County. He married Mary Hughes, an Irishwoman.

Other early Irish settlers in Columbia County were Daniel Downing, in 1749, who commanded a company of New York militia in the Revolutionary War; William Collins, in 1767; Samuel McClellan and Samuel Higgins, in 1783, and Joseph Daley in 1790. James White, who was born in County Down, settled in Chatham in 1765. He was a lieutenant-colonel in the Revolutionary Army, and served under Washington. He was the son of James White, who was for many years a member of the Irish Parliament.

In a petition to the Governor of New York of the residents of Columbia County, dated January 7, 1695, praying for an investigation into Robert Livingston's title to certain tracts of land in that county, I find such names as Connor, Kilmore, McLean, Crian, McDermott, Davis, Whalen, Kilmer, Dennis, McArthur, "Cannay," Allan, Drum and Murphy McIntyre.

Among the employees of the same Robert Livingston, at the Aneram Iron Works, were McCoy, McArthur, Furlong, Elliott, Angus, McDuffey and Timothy O'Connor.

In a map of Columbia County, compiled from actual surveys by John Wigram in January, 1798, I find among the property owners, Collins, Gill, Lynch, Roddy, Patrick, McCarthy, Moore, Kilmore, McFall, Morrison, Meghley, McDermott, Lane, McArthur, McIntyre, Irvine, Carroll, Brian, McClean and Brofey. In order to have acquired property I have no doubt many, if not all, of these were there many years. In an old churchyard at Kinder-

hook may be seen such names as O'Dowd and O'Brady, dated 1740 and 1749 respectively. Other early settlers in Columbia County were Powers, Blakes and Buckleys.

Newtown, L. I., is said to be one of the very oldest towns in the Province of New York, its history antedating even that of New Amsterdam. It seems to have been a popular place with Irish settlers in the early days. In 1664 John Cochran was a constable and freeholder of the Town of Newtown. About the same period there were several Moores, and families named Hart and Jennings in Newtown. The nationality of these is not given, but the names are so common in Ireland that it is probable they were of that nation.

Hugh O'Neil was a prominent resident of Newtown in 1665, and in that year he married a daughter of Dr. Adrian Van der Donck of Flushing, who is described in the "History of Newtown" as a distinguished Doctor of Laws. Van der Donek was one of the early Dutch settlers of that town, and was the first to obtain a patent for the Rappelye estate at Astoria. The Rappelyes were related by marriage to the celebrated Riker family, and today the old Rappeleye Cemetery at Astoria is one of the most interesting spots to students of old New York. There one can decipher on the old tombstones the names of many of the Rikers and the Rappelyes and of others who married into these pioneer families long before the Revolution.

It is remarkable to read the number of Irishmen who married into the Riker family. Captain George Collins married Elizabeth Riker in 1742. Michael Hines married Gertrude Riker, and a Captain John O'Brian married Jane Riker, one of whose daughters later became the wife of the distinguished American artist, Inman. Thomas Lynch, a Galway man, also married into this family, and the widow of Lynch afterwards became the wife of Anthony Duane, also a Galway man, who was a leading merchant of New York, and the father of James Duane, distinguished as a member of the first Continental Congress and the first Mayor of New York in the infant days of the American Republic.

In later years another lady of the Riker family was married to Dr. William James MacNevin, one of the leaders of the United

Irishmen, who is known as the "Father of American Chemistry." MacNevin was buried in the old cemetery at Astoria.

Several families of McDonoughs were in Newtown before 1750, and some of them are mentioned as occupying leading positions in the affairs of that then populous settlement. Terrence Reilly, a New York merchant, lived in Newtown in 1755. There also settled McConnells, Shannons, Devines and Haires. John Kearns taught school at Newtown, during the Revolutionary War, and after the war one Thomas McFarran purchased an estate there of an English officer named Grant, whose property became forfeited. Daniel Bodle, a native of Armagh, was in Newtown in 1740, but in 1742 he settled at Little Britain in Orange County, where he became a civil magistrate. He married a cousin of Governor Clinton, by whom he had a large family. He was one of the most widely known and respected men in that section of the country and served in the Congress of the United States as a representative from Ulster and Sullivan counties. He lived to a sublime old age.

William Kelly of New York was owner of a packet vessel plying between New York and the Island of Barbadoes in 1750. It was to this island that Cromwell exiled thousands of the Irish race in the middle of the seventeenth century, and from where many of their descendants afterward came to the American colonies. A Captain Edward Kelly, commander of a whaling vessel, was also in New York at this time. His family is mentioned in the "History of Newtown" as residents of that town. Another of the Kelly clan was a lawyer in New York in 1755. Daniel O'Brien is mentioned in the "New York Gazette Review" as owner of a ferry plying between New York and Amboy, thence by stage coach to Philadelphia, in the year 1750.

William O'Dell was one of the first settlers in Rye, Westchester County. He located there in 1662, and became a large land holder. William Collins was excise collector of Westchester County in 1680, and Bridget Ferguson was in that county in 1696.

In "Baird's History of Rye" Gabriel Lynch is mentioned as a settler in 1688. He came from England, which fact prompted another historical writer to designate him an "Englishman." Another Gabriel Lynch was one of the Commissioners of Highways

in Rye in 1765. Captain John Lynch was one of the petitioners for a patent for the White Plains Purchase in 1721. John Lynch was a land owner in White Plains in 1737. All of these Lynches are said to be separate families, who settled early in New York.

In "Bolton's History of Westchester County" several members of the Hayes family, settlers in Rye in 1721, are mentioned. They were mine owners and also owned a large tract of land. Other Irish settlers in Rye, who are mentioned at various times between the years 1710 and 1799, were Kennedys, McCullums, Nealys, Moores, Sextons, Suttons, Hares, Caseys and Fitzgeralds. Captain John Flood of Rye was "voted twenty dollars by the Committee of Safety in 1776 as a reward for his spirited conduct in apprehending William Lounsberry, a notorious enemy of America."

In Eastchester half a century before the Revolution were families styled "Gee" (McGee), "fitz giarral" (Fitzgerald), Ward and Curry.

In the records of the neighboring towns of Westchester County we meet with the names of several settlers of the same names. They were merchants, farmers and Indian traders. Among the residents of New Rochelle in 1710 were nine Barretts, seven "Moryces," five "Murros" and two Mannions. These "Moryces" were, no doubt, originally Morrisseys, and it is entirely within the bounds of probability to say that the "Murros" of New Rochelle were descended from the MacMurroughs of Leinster. We do know from Irish history that the "Murro" and "Morrow" families in Ireland are descended from the MacMurroughs.

In Orange County records of the earliest pioneer days in that county mention is made of Irish settlers. Lossing says "the City of Newburgh was first settled in 1709 by English, Irish, New England and Huguenot families." John Connor, who was born in County Westmeath, in 1741, settled in Orange County in 1767. He married one Hannah Dunn. He served as a private in a New York regiment in the Revolutionary War. One of his descendants, Dr. Leartus Connor, of Detroit, was one of the leading medical men of America. A family of Fitzgeralds were prominent land owners in Orange County in 1750. In 1729 Charles Clinton,

father of a distinguished family of Revolutionary soldiers and statesmen, left County Longford and settled the Town of New Windsor, Orange County, with two hundred of his fellow countrymen. He married an Irishwoman. Their daughter married Colonel James McClaughrey, a brave Irish officer of the Revolution. It was the Clinton family that gave New York its first Republican Governor. They were originally of English descent, who fled into Ireland during the regime of Cromwell. In Ireland they became "as Irish as the Irish themselves." In a map of that section of the State along the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, filed in the Surveyor-General's office in 1690, I find the following property owners in the year 1683: Butler, McNeil, Croghan, McKee, Loudon, Byrne, Alloon, Clarke, White, McFarlan, Kennedy, Guerin and Crean. There were several families bearing the same name. In 1720 there were, in addition to these, land owners named Hogan, Kelly, Collins, Lewis, Holland and Feeley.

Among the earliest, some of them the first, settlers in Yates County, were Hugh Walsh, John Collins, Daniel Neven, John McAuley, William McDowell, William Wall, John Malley, Andrew Fleming, George McMurphy, Samuel McFarren, John O'Brien, John Reynolds and Farleys, Fintons, Gleasons, Gilmore and McMasters.

In the neighboring county, Oswego, Irishmen are also found about the time of the Franco-English war. They were not alone among the settlers who followed the peaceful pursuits of tilling and building, but they were "the men behind the guns" who held the marauding Indian in check, and who, although fighting under the English flag, repelled the advances of the French through that territory. It does not follow from this that all of those soldiers bearing Irish names came over with the English regiments. Some of them seem to have been laborers and backwoodsmen, but who "for love of a fight," joined the forces of Sir William Johnson which had been operating against the French in that territory.

In the "Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson" is found an interesting item indicating that large numbers of Irishmen were active participants in the fighting along the Northwestern frontier of New York in the middle of the eighteenth century. In a report

dated May 28, 1756, from the commander of an English regiment, he says that "*a great number of Irish papists* and transports who were enlisted from Pennsylvania and Maryland, deserted at Oswego and other garrisons, sheltered themselves among the Indians of the Six Nations, who passed them through their country on their way back to the provinces, whence they enlisted, and where they have acquaintances and confederates." That "*there are great numbers of these Irish papists* among the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians who have done a world of prejudice to English interests." Doubtless these Irishmen had been forcibly impressed into the English service, which they had every reason to despise, and grasped the opportunity of their close contiguity to the French and friendly Indians to make their escape in large bodies. This circumstance seems to have caused general alarm among the English officials, who, doubtless, depended much on these impressed Irish soldiers to fight their battles, as England has on many occasions since in her campaigns of aggression and conquest.

The contests between the French and English at this time along the Canadian border were of the fiercest character. Both employed friendly Indian tribes, but the commanders on neither side could restrain the savages from ravaging the settlements of the white man. In these raids the peaceful settler suffered many hardships, and from the New York papers of the day we glean some idea of the strife of the contending parties. The "New York Mercury" on June 14, 1756, gave an account of an Indian attack on settlements near Oswego, and among a number of artisans and farmers killed at that place were James Flanagan, Michael Murray, John Mitchell, John Jordan and James Grant, and among those who were made prisoners were William Drewry, Thomas Gleddon, James Dawson, Thomas Hogan, James Cavenagh, Samuel Miles and William Mullett.

Colonel James Barrett, who commanded the patriots at Concord, was captain of provincials at Oswego.

Another interesting item pertaining to American history of this period is one contained in the "Journals of the Marquis of Montcalm," commander of the French troops, relating to the Irish

Brigade in the service of France. In August, 1756, the French laid siege to Chouaguen, on Lake Ontario, opposite Oswego. After a fierce engagement the English surrendered with all their armaments and vessels of war, and among the prisoners were "two English regiments which were at the Battle of Fontenoy." It so happened that the regiment which compelled their surrender was one of those which comprised the Irish Brigade which administered such telling defeat to the "bloody Duke of Cumberland" on that historic battlefield. In the Canadian campaign it was commanded by a Colonel Bearn (Byrne?), and, whether or not the same identical men made up its muster roll when at Oswego as had been at Fontenoy eleven years before, the capture of the two English regiments must indeed have been a source of grim satisfaction to those Franco-Irish soldiers. Bearn's regiment receives special mention in the "Journals of Montcalm" for its bravery in this engagement. "The leaders in the attack on the fort," to quote the words of a deserter from one of the English regiments, "were the French soldiers, who were clothed in red, faced in green, which, I imagine, belonged to the Irish Brigade." This description coincides exactly with the uniform worn by the Irish Brigade in the service of France at that time.

In the French-English War Irish soldiers fought on both sides. They were at Lake George in 1757 under Sir William Johnson, and in the ranks of Montcalm's army there were many exiles of Erin scattered through the different regiments, besides the distinct corps commanded by Colonel Bearn.

Lossing relates that in the attack on the garrison at Long Point, on Lake George, by General Montcalm on March 16th, 1757, "the garrison made a vigorous defense. The garrison and fort were saved by the vigilance of Lieutenant (afterwards General) Stark, who, in the absence of Rogers, had command of the Rangers, a large portion of which were Irishmen. On the evening of the 16th he overheard some of them planning a celebration for St. Patrick's Day." He goes on to say that the Irish in the regular regiments usually became hilarious on the occasion of such celebrations, and Montcalm, anticipating that they would be *hors de combat*, planned his attack on the night preceding St. Patrick's

Day, but that "Stark, with his sober Rangers, gallantly defended and saved the fort."

Most assuredly the Irish must have been in great force in the army to warrant an assertion such as this on the part of this noted American historian. Among the officers killed in the battle of Lake George were Captains Maginn, Farrell, and McGinnis. To the last named, who commanded the New Hampshire militia, is given the credit of turning the fortunes of the day. "At the head of 200 men he fell on the French and completely routed them."

Roger's Rock, on Lake George, was the scene of more than one stubborn fight with the Indians in the campaign of 1755. Major Rogers, from whom it took its name, is described by Lossing as "the son of an Irishman," who was an early settler in New Hampshire.

John Savage, who was born in Derry in 1707, settled in Salem, Washington County. He was captain of a company of volunteers in the French War. One of his descendants, Edward Savage, of Salem, was a member of the New York Legislature for 21 years, and his grandson, John Savage, of Utica, was Comptroller of the State from 1821 to 1823, and from the latter year to 1836 was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York. Other settlers in Washington County were Harringtons, Powers, Griffiths and Nortons, who located at Granville; in White Creek, Kennedys Lyons, Savages and Grays, and in the neighboring settlement of Dorset (now Vermont) we find Manly, Powell, Ward, Gill, Bradley and Clarke. All of these were farmers. In the same neighborhood lived Robert Cochran, one of the "rioters" with Ethan Allen in 1771. David Mooney received a grant of 2,000 acres of land in Washington County in 1765. It was known as the Mooney Patent.

In the collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society covering marriages solemnized in the Dutch Reformed Church of New York between the years 1639 and 1801, are records of marriages of numerous Irishmen and Irishwomen. The earliest seems to be the marriage of William Moore and Margaret Feen on October 8, 1685. George Walker, described as "from Ierlant," was married to a Miss Van Hoeck on September 23, 1692, and Miss Aeltje Jans took the more euphonious name of Flynn on

July 7, 1693. Catherine Stridles demonstrated her æsthetic taste when, on April 18, 1701, she married Willem Doulen, who is described as "from Jerlandt." There are many curious entries such as this: "Denys Costula, j. m. v. Ierlandt, met Elisabeth Rendal, Wed. v. Barney Hamilton, v. Jerlandt, byde woonende alhier, December 1, 1730." Translating this it says that "Dennis Costello, who was born in Ireland, married Elizabeth Rendal, who was the widow of Barney Hamilton, born in Ireland, both residing here," and in reading it we wonder how Denny Costello's friends in Ireland could ever have recognized him by that twist in his name! Another example of a Dutch description of an Irish marriage is this: "John O'Bryan, j. m., en Margary Flingh, j. d. byde geboren in Jerlandt, en nu wonende in Newyork." This interesting incident took place on June 7, 1761.

Between 1685 and 1700 there are hundreds of persons bearing Irish names recorded, and in many cases they are referred to as immigrants from Ireland. In a few cases, their particular place of birth, such as "Dubblin" and "Kork," are mentioned. Such names as O'Brien, O'Neill, Sullivan, McCarthy, McGinnis, Murphy, Flynn and Lynch, and others that are as distinctively Irish are mentioned frequently.

On the other hand, a great many names are spelled phonetically, which gives them an odd appearance at first glance, but which does not entirely rob them of their origin. The full list would make most interesting reading, and is one of the best illustrations that could be produced of the varying methods that were used in changing the original names of the early Irish settlers.

It must not be forgotten, however, that this list is that of only one church, and it is fair to assume that similar examples appear on the records of other old New York churches.

The majority of the Irishmen and Irish women who were married in this church bore the most distinctively Celtic names. Now, many of these people, particularly those who came here in the earliest years, could not express themselves in the English language. The language best known to them was their own, so that it is not strange to run across such a name, for instance, as "Kallye," in the early records, and it requires but little introspection into old

Gaelic nomenclature at once conclude that the person so recorded was properly named O'Ceallaigh, or, in its modern form, O'Kelly or Kelly. "Okeley" was also one of the peculiarities which this name took, and there is not much doubt but that, on account of its singular appearance, it came to be pronounced as if it were "Oakley." The names were written down phonetically, the consequence being that the ministers and their clerks, and other persons who kept such records, produced, in many cases, the most ludicrous and meaningless orthographical results.

It all depended on how the people themselves pronounced their names. The Irish language sounded strangely in the ears of the Dutchman, and, as some of the O'Kelly's and Kellys pronounced the name correctly, that is to say, as if it were spelled "Kallye," while others pronounced it in the modern method, they naturally wrote it down on the records either as "Kallye" or "Okeley!"

There were many instances like this to be found]. The name of Brady is written down in the Dutch records in severel different ways, as for example, "Jeams Braddys," who married Hannah Manning in New York on July 28, 1659, and Effie "Bready," who was united to "Patrick Queen," (Quinn), from Ireland, on March 19, 1770.

Martin "Coin" and Hannah "Boyl" were married on January 6, 1757. Such variations as "Boil" for Boyle, and "Coil" for Coyle are also found.

The name of Byrne is written "Burrin," as for instance, the marriage, on October 5, 1770, of David Narel, described as an Irishman, to Elizabeth "Burrrins," who came from Barbadoes.

The name of Ryan was the target for many peculiar changes. John F. "Rein" is recorded as having been married on April 13, 1776, but, if it would possibly be incorrect to say that he sprung from the old race of the O'Ryans, there can hardly be any doubt about the nationality of Richard "Rian," who married Rebecca Ervin on July 3, 1783, or of Elizabeth "Ryen," who changed her name to the less euphonious one of Ryd on November 13, 1760. Nor can there be any mistake about Hannah "Ryn," who was married to William Hayes on February 3, 1772, for the good reason that they are both recorded as natives of Ireland. And as if to round out

this series of changes I find in "New York in the Revolution" the name of John "Ryne," who was a lieutenant in the Fourteenth Regiment of New York Militia.

Besides the common forms of Carty and Carthy, some of the McCarthy family are recorded at "Cartee" and "Charty," and we even find such a monstrosity as "MagCarthy" taking the place of this old historic name!

Here is a sample of many entries which appear in these old records: "Lyn von ons in den Huwelyken Staat bevestigt, Patrick Fox en Magdalena Sheredewyn beide van Nieuw York." Translating this, it reads: "Invested by us in the holy state of matrimony Patrick Fox and Magdalena Sheredewyn, both of New York." It doesn't need much of a stretch of the imagination to conclude that the lady's name was Sheridan.

The name of Daly is also one which had to stand the brunt of many changes. "Margrite Dally," from Ireland, married "Patrick Follon," also described as from Ireland, on December 22, 1774. In other entries the name is given as "Dayly," "Daeley" and "Dailee." Some of the Carrolls are recorded as "Carol," "Carrell and Carel. There are two revolutionary soldiers, who sprung, no doubt, from the O'Learys, down as "Laere" and "Lary." The former was in the Third Battalion of the Tryon County Militia, and the later in Brinckerhoff's regiment of State troops.

Other methods by which the old Irish names became disguised were: McManness and McMoness for McManus, McMulland for McMullen, MacKnult for McNulty, and so on, and while these cannot be said to be violent departures from the originals, yet, when the prefix was subsequently dropped from the substituted name, it will at once be seen what complete change resulted. Many of the McLoughlins are down as "McClocklin" and "Maglaghlin," McGee is written down "Megee" and "Magey," McAfee as "Mekafee," McGill as "Mekill," and McNeill as MaKneel." The name of O'Neill is also given as "Okneel."

Jeremiah "Shansee's" ancestors would hardly recognize him in that guise, although, for other reasons, they would be quite proud of him, for Jerry was a brave soldier who served in Van Rensselaer's regiment of New York State troops, in the Revolutionary

War. Sergeant Michael "Opherl" of Cantine's regiment of State troops would also have a hard time proving his Irish ancestry if it depended alone on the appearance of his name. There were several of this family serving in the New York Line during the War of the Revolution, although the names of the others were spelled either O'Ferril or O'Ferrell.

The name of "Moorey," doubtless, was formed by the addition of the final "y" to Moore, while, on the other hand, the "y" was dropped from Mooney, thus making it "Moone." The name of "Murfee" appears very frequently in the old Colonial records, as well as "Huyse" and "Hues," meant for Hughes; "Kayse" for Casey, "Mak Guire" and "Gwire" for McGuire, "MkMihon" for McMahon, "Makre" for McCrea, and "Dwir" for Dwyer. Patrick Ma Har was a soldier who served in the "Corps of Invalids." Ensign "Solivan" was in the Second Regiment from the Schenectady District and Peter "Fitchpatrick" served in Colonel Fisher's regiment of the New York State troops. How simple it must have been for Peter's descendants to drop the "patrick" from the name and call themselves "Fitch."

The name of O'Brien also had its troubles in these changeful days. John "Brine," a mariner, was married to Elizabeth Van Clyff in the Dutch Reformed Church in New York on August 4, 1696, and in these records there are also entries about which one is apt to be suspicious, such as "Bryn" and "Bryen," but it is possible these may have been of the Dutch family of Bruyn, which was quite common in New York. In "New York in the Revolution" there are two soldiers named "O'Briant" recorded. The dropping of the historic prefix would have made the change complete, and if some of the "Briants," descendants of these revolutionary soldiers were to be told they came from a family that can trace its Irish ancestry in a direct line back for more than a thousand years they would probably be astonished! There were many O'Briens in the War of the Revolution whose names are spelled in several different ways, but retaining the original sound.

The Irish residents of New York, whose marriages are recorded in the Dutch Reformed Church were doubtless, in every case of Roman Catholic faith, but, as it was necessary to comply with the

established law, and also so that their offspring may be legitimate, they could be bound in wedlock only by a recognized Minister of the Gospel. There being no Roman Catholic Church in New York for many years during the period mentioned, the ceremony had to be performed in the Dutch Reformed or Protestant Church. Many of them were refugees from Ireland on account of the religious persecutions. Like the people of Ireland in all ages, they were devoted to their religion, and while, no doubt, they eschewed for a while association with the established churches, yet, as time went on, they and their children were gradually drawn into religious intercourse with the other sects, until eventually they became regular communicants of those churches. The variations which from time to time were wrought in their names brought them further and further away from what they had been; in their new surroundings, both social and religious, they themselves changed, so that their children, who in many cases married into the neighboring Dutch and French families, became as wholly un-Irish in manner and sentiment as if they had sprung from an entirely different race. That fact, however, does not admit of their being now included in the category "Anglo-Saxon."

I am not discoursing on the subject of religion, nor do I intend to introduce it, but, I am compelled to say, that the fact that such great and diversified alterations were effected in the names of the early Irish settlers in the colonies, and the further fact that so many of those settlers and their children abandoned the ancient faith with which the Celtic race has been identified for centuries, brought about this unfortunate result, that they became completely changed during the passing of the years, so that today a large section of the American people are prone to believe that the Irish did not figure to any extent in the early struggles of their adopted country!

In another work entitled "Names of Persons for whom Marriage Licenses were issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York, previous to 1784," compiled by Gideon J. Tucker (when Secretary of State), and taken from the early records of the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, we find ample corroboration of the church records. Page after page of this book looks more like some

record of the Province of Munster than of the Province of New York. It is a quarto volume printed in small type in double columns, and there are eleven pages wholly devoted to persons whose names commence with "Mac" and three to the "O's." Like some of the colonial records to which I have already referred, it is one of those rare and valuable works that are the depositories of the evidence of the part played by the Irish race in the laying of the foundations of this state. Perusal of them by some of our present-day orators of the dinner table, who so amusingly glorify the "Anglo-Saxon" as the founder of the American race, would have a chastening influence on their ignorance of early American history, and would reopen the long vista of the years, at the very beginning of which they would see the Teuton, the Celt, and the Gaul working side by side solidifying the fulcrum of the structure on which this great Nation rests.

Nearly every name common to Ireland is here represented. There are 18 O'Connors and Connors, 84 Moores, 24 Collinses, 24 McDonnells, 22 Walshs, 21 Murphys, 16 Kellys, 17 Ryans, 14 O'Briens, 15 Kennedys, 14 McNeills, 20 Suttons, 11 Sullivans, and so many McCarthy's, Dalys, Reillys, O'Neillls, Flanagans, Doyles, Doughertys and such names, that one almost gets tired reading them.

Captain George Croghan, the celebrated Indian Agent of the Province, was an Irishman. So was the first white settler in Saratoga County, Michael McDonald.

Sir William Johnson employed many of his countrymen. His lawyer's name was Kelly; his physician, Daly; his secretary, Lafferty, and the superintendent of his proprieties was named Flood. A school master named Wall, whom he established at Johnstown, came from Johnson's native county of Meath, and several of his scholars bore the most distinctively Irish names. Others in his employ bore such names as Byrne, McCarthy, Cotter, Doran, McDonald, Connor, and so on. Some of them became large landowners. Michael Byrne, for instance, owned 18,000 acres in Tryon County in 1764.

Among the largest landowners on the banks of Lake Champlain

were Connollys and McCauleys, and in that portion of the province, now Vermont, there were settlers a score of years before the Revolution named Burke, Barrett, Kennedy, McCoy, Hogan, Dunn, Cummins, Larkin, McConnell, Moore, Garvey, Goff, Carey, McCarra, Duane, and others too numerous to mention, but whose names clearly indicate their Irish origin. The Duane family alone, who came from the County of Galway, owned 63,000 acres of land in that section.

The first linen manufactories in New York were established by Irishmen. "As early as 1700 all of the linen used by the inhabitants came from Ireland," says Lossing, and in a report from Governor Tryon, dated June 11, 1774, he states that "eleven-twelfths of the inhabitants of the province are clothed in linen imported from Ireland," and that "there is every year a great quantity of flaxseed, lumber and iron sent to Ireland in ships belonging to that Kingdom, and which came out annually with passengers and servants." Among the prominent linen merchants of New York I find Hugh Wallace and James McBride, both natives of Ireland, who became possessed of much wealth. McBride was a president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

In his "History of Chautauqua County, Young states that "Colonel James McMahon and Edward McHenry may with propriety be styled the pioneers of that county, as they were the first white men who purchased and settled with the intention of taking up permanent residence there." McMahon settled near where the village of Westfield now stands, and the first dwelling of the white man was erected there by McHenry. Colonel McMahon commanded a regiment in the War of 1812. General John McMahon, brother of James, was also an early and conspicuous settler in Chautauqua, and among his countrymen are mentioned Cosgroves, Kennedys, Macks, Dunns and Kanes. One of the most noted pioneers of Chautauqua County was William Prendergast, a native of Kilkenny, who settled first in Dutchess County in 1746, and after some years located on the west shore of Chautauqua Lake. He brought up an Irish family, seven sons and six daughters. Two of his sons, Martin and Mathew, became judges of Niagara County; another,

James, founded the City of Jamestown; another became a physician, and another, William, commanded a regiment which fought in the War of 1812. Judge Matthew Prendergast's son was a surgeon in the same war and was a famous physician in Erie County.

John McCurdy, who emigrated from Armagh in 1745, was a merchant in the City of New York in 1747, from where he removed to Connecticut a few years later. The remarkable record of this Irish exile may well excite admiration and wonder. A man of exhaustless enterprise, patriot, philanthropist and patrician, his name has gone down in history as one worthy of a place among the foremost Americans of his day. He became one of the wealthiest merchants and shipowners in New England, and was one of the first in his adopted state to throw in his lot with the patriots of the Revolution.

The originator of the great canal system of our state was Christopher Colles, an Irishman, who came to New York in 1772, and although his plans were rejected, yet it is on record that they were afterwards used when the great project was successfully carried out.

From the old New York newspapers, in which are recounted the annual meetings of Irishmen on the 17th of March, we get an idea of the Irish population of the city. In the *Mercury* of March 15, 1762, is found an announcement of a forthcoming St. Patrick's Day celebration by the Irish residents. The *Gazette* of March 20, 1766, and the *Mercury* of March 24, contain elaborate reports of a celebration on the previous 17th of March, at which some of the toasts were: "May the enemies of America be branded with infamy and disdain;" "Success to the Sons of Liberty," "Success to American manufactures," "The day, and prosperity to Ireland," and several other toasts along those lines. The toasts wound up with one in this peculiar vein and phraseology: "May the enemies of Ireland never eat the bread or drink the whiskey of it, but be tormented with itching without the benefit of scratching."

The *Gazette* of March 14, 1768, announced a coming celebration by the "Order of St. Patrick." The *Journal* of March 30, 1769, contains an account of a dinner given by a society known as the

"Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick." Between 1775 and 1783 there is nothing on record indicating that St. Patrick's Day was observed in New York, but after the latter year the celebrations are seen to have continued year after year, but under a very different order of things. The first President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was Daniel McCormick, who came from Ireland before the Revolution and who amassed a large fortune as a merchant in New York.

The *Gazette* of March 16, 1775, contained an announcement that "tomorrow, being the anniversary of St. Patrick, tutelar Saint of Ireland, will be observed with the usual respect and attention by his generous sons and their descendants." In the same paper of March 22, 1779, appears a report of a parade on the previous St. Patrick's Day, by the "Volunteers of Ireland," under Lord Rawdon. This body was in the English service, however. It is not a rare thing to find Irishmen in the English army, but there is a reason for it, and this regiment, no doubt, although called "Volunteers," was recruited in Ireland among the unfortunates who were driven to desperation and who were glad of any opportunity of obtaining the wherewithal to keep them from nakedness and starvation.

It is also probable that many of these so-called "Volunteers" were impressed into the service by the well-known methods in vogue in Ireland for generations past, for it is on record that many of the misnamed "Volunteers of Ireland" deserted from the British ranks and joined the American patriots.

These desertions were so very frequent that on July 1, 1780, when the "Volunteers of Ireland" were in camp at Camden, S. C., Lord Rawdon, by direction of Cornwallis, wrote to a Major Rugely in this wise; "So many deserters from this army have passed with impunity through the districts which are under your direction that I must necessarily suspect the inhabitants to have connived at if not facilitated their escape. I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the Volunteers of Ireland, and five guineas if they bring him in alive." The whole of this order will be found in Hartley's "Life of General Marion."

Among the Irish officers in the ranks of the New York patriots

in the Revolution may be mentioned Colonel James McCleary, who is referred to in Hoosick's "Life of De Witt Clinton" as one of the bravest officers America can boast of." General Richard Montgomery, one of the four Brigadiers appointed by the first Congress, and the first of the four to die in the cause of our glorious country; Gen. Edward Hand, who commanded the Pennsylvania Line, distinguished himself in New York. So did Colonel Robert Cochran, who commanded a detachment of militia at Fort Edward at the time of Burgoyne's surrender. Also Captain Robert McKean, the defender of Cherry Valley. The story of his brave defense of Curytown on July 9, 1781, against the Indians and loyalists reads like a chapter from the career of the "Spartan Band."

The commanders of the forlorn hope in the memorable attack on the British works at Stony Point on July 17, 1779, were Major Murfey and Lieutenant Gibbons, Lieutenant-Colonel Percival Butler was Morgan's second in command at the battle of Saratoga, and this list of Irish soldiers would certainly be incomplete without some mention of Timothy Murphy, of Schoharie, who covered himself with glory at Bemis Heights. Murphy belonged to Morgan's celebrated Rifle Corps, and proved himself one of the most fearless and intrepid soldiers of that band of heroes.

In the "Narrative of the Captivity of Ethan Allen," the redoubtable hero of Ticonderoga pays tribute to the Irish soldiers who fought under him in the Canadian campaign of 1775, and mentions some thrilling incidents where his life was saved by the timely interference of Irishmen.

Many of the officers of the New York regiments bore Irish names, and the muster rolls of the various regiments, notably those of Colonels Maleom, and Willett and the Third Regiment of the Line, show large numbers of Irishmen.

But the list seems almost interminable. I could go on at much greater length and dwell upon Irishmen and their descendants who added to the lustre of the Empire State, but I do not wish to trespass upon your patience.

Kept in subjection in his native country under the centuried goad of an alien government, the Irishman has proved beyond per-

adventure of a doubt his unqualified success in other lands.' Give him a fair field with the air of freedom filling his lungs, and you may be sure that he will give a good account of himself. What I have stated here today is a series of historical facts gathered from the most unimpeachable authorities after many months of research, without resorting to any flowers of rhetoric in setting these facts forth.

If I have interested the New York State Historical Association in the lives and times of some of these forgotten Irishmen, then I shall be assured that my labors have not been in vain.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

HON. JAMES A. ROBERTS.

Our excellent Committee on Programme to whose wise and arduous labor we are indebted for the pleasure and profit of our annual meetings have placed my name on the programme without assigning me any topic. They doubtless felt, (and thus their wisdom is again shown), that if given free range over the vast realms of chance and change, in some parts of which glittering generalities are current coin, I should be much more likely to say something, than if confined within the strict limits of historical narration. I thank the Committee for this grace and shall avail myself of the freedom thus given.

Our Association may safely congratulate itself on the success of its annual meetings. The topics selected for our symposiums have been exhaustively and ably handled, and in succinct form we have made available for all time knowledge of events in our State history which could only be obtained by laborious investigation of old records and archives. In instance, many facts new to this generation and of great interest to the historical student were brought out in our symposium on the Sullivan Campaign one year ago. I mention this because it is freshest in mind, but other symposiums have been equally useful.

Our annual addresses have been splendid contributions to history. It is a distinction to have had such men as Professor John Bach McMaster, the Rev. Dr. Stevens, and the Honorable James Breck Perkins address us on themes not covered by them previously, but upon which the research for the works which have made their respective names illustrious, had especially qualified them to speak with convincing authority. The paper presented by Colonel Alexander a year ago on "Robert Livingston, the author of the

"Louisiana Purchase" was a most valuable addition to historic knowledge on that important event.

Where so much that is excellent has been done, it is difficult and perhaps dangerous to particularize, but I think I may say that the Association was especially fortunate in being made the medium through which Mr. Ruttenber has published his very valuable work on Indian names and locations. This work represents years of patient investigation and will be an undoubted authority for all future time. The thanks of the Association are richly due to Mr. Ruttenber.

The Association is also to be congratulated upon the large number of new highly valued members it has received during the past year. This is due principally to the influence and well directed effort of the Reverend Doctor Stevens who took from days already filled to overflowing with sacred and important duties, sufficient time to accomplish this highly desirable end. The thanks of the Association are certainly due to the Reverend Doctor Stevens.

The last time I had the honor to speak to you, I ventured to suggest that the origin and development of social, moral and religious movements in the State and Nation offered vitally interesting fields for historical investigation. These fields have not been cultivated with the same diligence that has been applied to all fields of military operations, and they therefore offer better opportunities for bringing to light new and valuable facts. The paper presented last year on the origin of the temperance movement was an excellent beginning, and I hope we may now feel that this line of investigation has become a part of our regular work.

A curious and instructive study might be made of the origin and growth of political bossism. I fear that our commonwealth must claim the bad honor of originating this un-American system and while it has spread generally throughout the country, it is doubtful if any state has been damned by the same remorseless autocracy of bossism as has New York. I hope the history of this subject will strike the curious student a generation hence as an *interrupted* illustration of what Darwin calls the tendency to return to the original type.

The past twelve months have been so prolific in revelations of

political and commercial dishonesty, we may well fancy Juvenal's well-known lines would apply to us:

"Briefly, my friend, here all are slaves to gold,
And votes and smiles, and everything is sold."

These cases of venality and corruption startled, stunned our people, but their righteous indignation and resentment show that at heart the great masses think, and act and live honestly, and I still believe with Saint Simon that "The golden age which a blind tradition has heretofore placed in the Past, is Before us." This awaking from a century of commercial lawlessness is an event, every producing cause, every developing step of which is well worth perpetuating, as a lesson to coming generations, and we cannot do better than to do our part in this work of preservation. While history may need distance to give it accurate perspective, there is no time like the present to gather the facts from which history can be made.

But a fondness on my part for literary and historical gossip as disclosed in diaries and memoirs leads me to say that in the writing of history, accounts of great uprisings and great events are not what make altogether the most interesting history. No history ever written gives so clear an idea of how people lived, what their state of morals was in the reign of Charles II, as the diary of the garrulous old Pepys. What makes Boswell's Life of Johnson the greatest biography in our own or any other language? It is because we see in it not more of the ponderous intellect of Dr. Johnson than we do the human side of his daily life with all its weaknesses, its foibles, its eccentricities. Louis XIV. stood as an almost uniquely grand monarch in French history until the memoirs of the puritan of his day, Saint Simon, were published and then the world saw how weak and human the "Grand Monarch" was with all his magnificence and state. After reading the memoirs of the Cardinal De Bernis, who evidently never questioned the propriety of his intimacy with, and devotion to, Madame de Pompadour, and those of the Marquis D'Argenson, we can readily see why France lost her American colonies and why the French Revolution was inevitable. There are no more delightful pictures in our language than those of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and other literary

celebrities of their time, as they are drawn in Henry Crabbe Robinson's diary. It is because these men have told of the little things of life which others ignored as unworthy of record that we are enabled to form pictures of the men and times much more accurately than we could from all the chronicles and histories. The man in historic bronze or marble, standing on the historic pedestal, is by no means as interesting as the man of flesh and blood with a human heart and human passions.

America has produced few memoirs or diaries, though the Adamses' are valuable and full of interest; England not many, but the last three centuries of French history are made instinct with life and interest today by its memoirs. There is not a man or woman in this Association but could write a diary of present life and time which would be a priceless treasure a hundred years hence. Is the idea not worthy of consideration?

Carlyle was right: the true Shekinah is man," and in all that relates to man, it is peculiarly true that "all objects are as windows through which the philosophic eye looks into Infinitude itself."

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- Washington Papers, Volume I; Naval Records of the American Revolution ; Report of the Library of Congress and of the Superintendent ; from the Librarian of Congress.
- From the New Jersey Historical Society, Volume 22, N. J. Archives, first series. Volume 25 N. J. Archives, first series.
- From the Nebraska State Historical Society, Nebraska Constitutional Convention, Volume I.
- From the Pennsylvania Society, "Year Book," 1907.
- From the New Hampshire Historical Society, New Hampshire, Historical collection Volume 1, 7, 8, 9 and 10.
- From William Gilbert Davies, Papers and Addresses.
- From the Essex Institute. Four numbers of Historical collections.
- From the Connecticut Magazine. Four numbers.
- From the State Historical Society of Iowa. Four numbers of the Iowa Journal of History and Politics.
- From the Historical Department of Iowa, four numbers.
- From the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. Four numbers of the quarterly.
- From the Historical Society of Newburgh, Historical papers No. 13.
- From the Missouri Historical Society. No. 6 of Volume 2 of Collections.
- From the Michigan Political Science Association, No. 1, of Volume 6.
- From the Chicago Historical Society. Charter, constitution, by-laws and list of members.
- From Tuft's College, catalogue, 1906-07.
- From the Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, annual report.
- From the New England Society of Vineland and New Jersey, Constitution and list of members.

INSIGNA OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Insigna of the Association consists of a badge, the pendant of which is circular in form, one and three-sixteenths inches in diameter.

Obverse: In the center is represented the discovery of the Hudson River; the "Half-Moon" is surrounded by Indian Canoes, and in the distance is shown the Palisades. At the top is the coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam and a tomahawk, arrow and Dutch sword. At the bottom is shown the seal of New York State. Upon a ribbon, surrounding the center medallion, is the legend: New York State Historical Association, and the dates 1609 and 1899; the former being the date of the discovery of New York, and the latter the date of the founding of the Historical Association.

Reverse: The Seal of the Association.

The badges are made of 14k gold, sterling silver and bronze, and will be sold to members of the Association at the following prices:

| | |
|--|---------|
| 14k Gold, complete with bar and ribbon..... | \$11.00 |
| Sterling Silver, complete with bar and ribbon..... | 5.00 |
| Bronze, complete with bar and ribbon..... | 4.00 |

Applications for badges should be made to the Secretary of the Association, Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, N. Y., who will issue permit, authorizing the member to make the purchase from the official Jewelers, J. E. Caldwell & Co., 902 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

We, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden and Elmer J. West, of Glens Falls; Grenville M. Ingalsbe, of Sandy Hill, and Morris P. Ferris, of Dobbs Ferry, all in the State of New York, and all of us citizens of the United States, have associated ourselves together in a membership corporation, and do hereby make this our certificate under the laws of the State of New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First: To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second: To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is Warren, Washington, Essex, Clinton, Saratoga and Hamilton counties, in the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at Caldwell, on Lake George, county of Warren, in the State of New York.

The number of directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| James A. Roberts, | Buffalo. |
| Timothy L. Woodruff, | Brooklyn. |
| Daniel C. Farr, | Glens Falls. |
| Everett R. Sawyer, | Sandy Hill. |
| James A. Holden, | Glens Falls. |
| Robert O. Bascom, | Fort Edward. |
| Morris Patterson Ferris, | Dobbs Ferry. |
| Elwyn Seelye, | Lake George. |

| | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Grenville M. Ingalsbe, | Sandy Hill. |
| Frederick B. Richards, | Ticonderoga. |
| Anson Judd Upson, | Glens Falls. |
| Asahel R. Wing, | Fort Edward. |
| William O. Stearns, | Glens Falls. |
| Robert C. Alexander, | New York. |
| Elmer J. West, | Glens Falls. |
| Hugh Hastings, | Albany. |
| Pliny T. Sexton, | Palmyra. |
| William S. Ostrander, | Schuylerville. |
| Sherman Williams, | Glens Falls. |
| William L. Stone, | Mt. Vernon. |
| Henry E. Tremain, | New York. |
| William H. Tippetts, | Lake George. |
| John Boulton Simpson, | Bolton. |
| Harry W. Watrous, | Hague. |
| Abraham B. Valentine, | New York. |

The first meeting of the corporation, for the purpose of organization, will be held on the 21st day of March, 1899.

The time for holding the annual meeting of the said corporation will be the last Tuesday in July of each year.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto severally subscribed our names and affixed our seals this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine.

| | |
|------------------------|--------|
| DANIEL C. FARR, | (L.S.) |
| JAMES A. HOLDEN, | (L.S.) |
| ELMER J. WEST, | (L.S.) |
| GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE, | (L.S.) |
| MORRIS P. FERRIS. | (L.S.) |

STATE OF NEW YORK,

County of Warren.

On this 21st day of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, before me personally appeared Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Elmer J. West, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and Morris Patterson Ferris, to me known to be the individuals described in and who executed the foregoing articles of incorporation, and they duly severally acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

(Seal.)

E. T. JOHNSON,
Notary Public.

Whereas, A petition for incorporation by the University has been duly received, containing satisfactory statements made under oath as to the objects and plans of the proposed corporation, and as to the provision made for needed buildings, furniture, equipment, and for maintenance.

Therefore, Being satisfied that all requirements prescribed by law or University ordinance for such an association have been fully met, and that public interests justify such action, the Regents by virtue of the authority conferred on them by law, hereby incorporate James A. Roberts, Daniel C. Farr, James A. Holden, Morris Patterson Ferris, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Anson Judd Upson, Robert C. Alexander, Hugh Hastings, William S. Ostrander, William L. Stone, William H. Tippetts, Harry W. Watrous, William O. Stearns, Timothy L. Woodruff, Everett R. Sawyer, Robert O. Bascom, Elwyn Seelye, Frederick B. Richards, Asahel R. Wing, Elmer J. West, Pliny T. Sexton, Sherman Williams, Henry E. Tremain, John Boulton Simpson, Abraham B. Valentine, and their successors in office under the corporate name of

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

This corporation shall be located at Caldwell, Warren County, New York.

Its first trustees shall be the twenty-five above-named incorporators.

Its object shall be to promote historical research, to disseminate knowledge of the history of the State by lectures and publications, to establish a library and museum at Caldwell, to mark places of historic interest, and to acquire custody or control of historic places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The Regents grant this charter, No. 1,245, under seal of the University, at the Capitol at Albany,
(Seal) April 24, 1899

ANSON JUDD UPSON, Chancellor.

MELVIL DEWEY, Secretary.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association."

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State, and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.**Members.**

Section 1. Members shall be of three classes—Active, Corresponding and Honorary. Active members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside the State of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.**Management.**

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by a Board of Trustees to be elected by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose terms then expires.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.**Officers.**

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number,

at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to Active Membership shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum, for his or her annual dues.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and invested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold perpetual memberships shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The Board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the readings of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Seal.

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. Welliam Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

ARTICLE IX.

Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meetings of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association or the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE IV.

Vice Presidents.

The Vice Presidents shall be denominated First, Second and Third Vice Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice President present.

ARTICLE V.**Treasurer.**

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.**Secretary.**

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.**Executive Committee.**

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such Committee shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.**Procedure.**

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association.

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and acting thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such Committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the Secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fails for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

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E. M. Ruttenber, Newburgh, N. Y.
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Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, 160 West 86th Street, New York
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Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., Libb. Pres. of Princeton University,
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Arthur Martin Wheeler, LL. D., Yale University, New Haven, Ct.
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| Brown, Ernest C. | 280 Broadway, N. Y. |
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| Broughton, H. L. | Sandy Hill. |

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| Bullard, Dr. T. E. | Schuylerville. |
| Bunten, Roland | Garden City. |
| Burdge, Franklin | 325 W. 57th St., N. Y. |
| Burnham, George | 3401 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Bushnell, Nathan Platt | Peekskill. |
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| Cheney, Dr. Francis L. | Cortland. |
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| Clark, Rev. Joseph B. | 4th Ave., and 22d St., N. Y. |
| Clowe, Chas. Waldron | 280 Broadway, N. Y. |
| Cole, Norman | Glens Falls. |
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| Gillespie, Nelson | Hoosick Falls. |
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| James, D. Willis | 40 East 39th St., N. Y. |
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| Jessup, Morris K. | 195 Madison Ave., N. Y. |
| Jessup, Rev. Charles A. | Greenport. |
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| Ladd, Neil M. | 646 Fulton St., Brooklyn. |
| Lansing, Mrs. Abraham | 115 Washington Ave., Albany. |
| Lange, Gustave | 257 Broadway, N. Y. |

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| Lapham, Byron | Glens Falls. |
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| Leary, Russell W. | 147 W. 91st St., N. Y. |
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| Mills, Col. Stephen C. (U. S. A.) | Governor's Island, N. Y. Harbor. |
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| Morton, Hon. Levi Parsons | 681 Fifth Ave., N. Y. |
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| Munger, Rev. Dr. R. D. | 105 Delaware St., Syracuse. |
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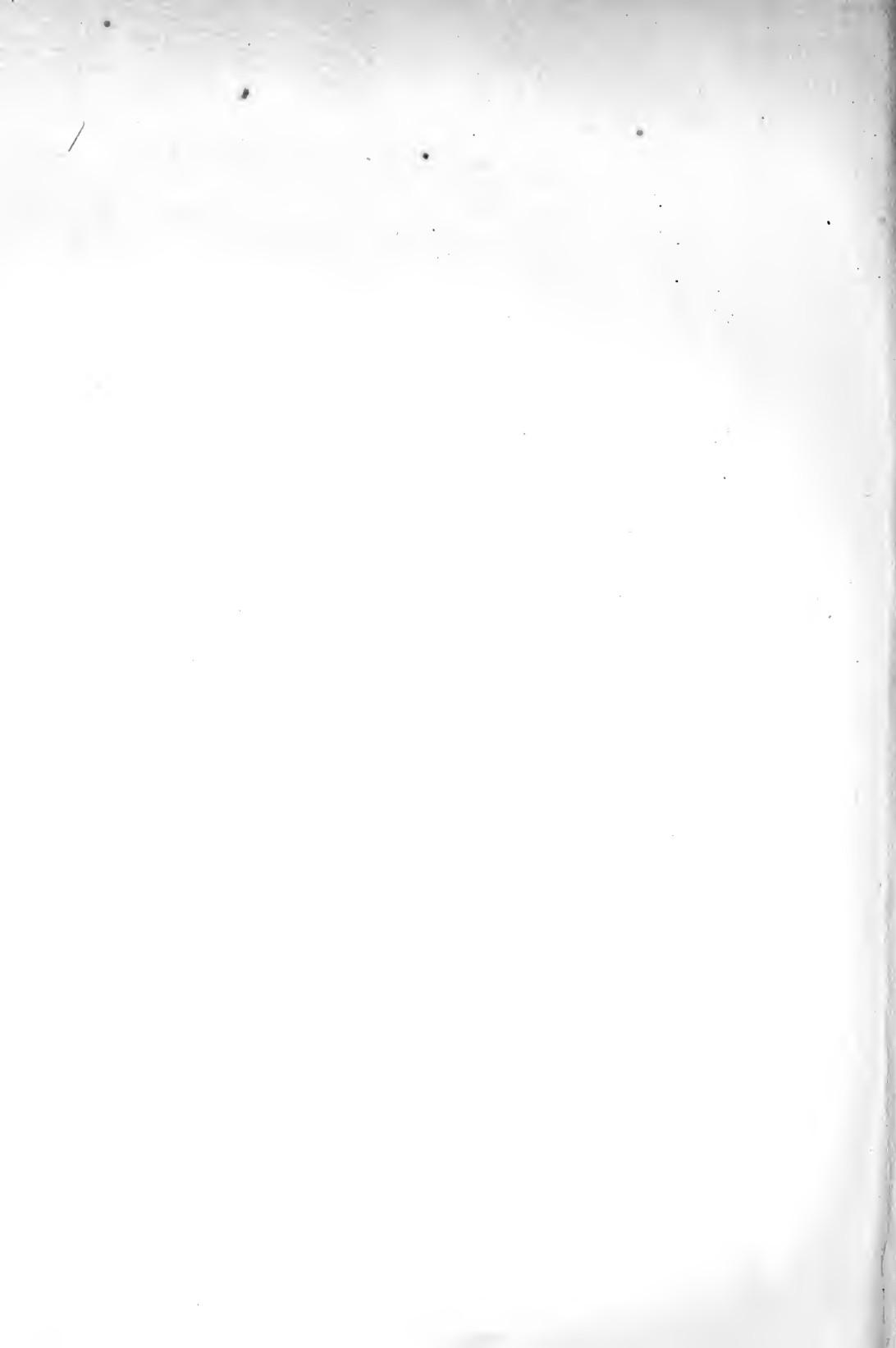
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| Ransom, Hon. Rastus S. | 128 Broadway, N. Y. |
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| Roberts, Joseph Banks | 141 Broadway, N. Y. |
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| Roberts, Hon. James A. | 256 Broadway, N. Y. |
| Rogers, Howard J. | Education Dept., Albany. |
| Rowell, George C. | 81 Chapel St., Albany. |
| Samson, William H. | 420 Oxford St., Rochester. |
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| Sawyer, Dr. Edward R. | Sandy Hill. |
| Schuyler, Miss Fanny | New Rochelle. |
| Schuyler, Rev. Dr. Livingston | 17 Lexington Ave., N. Y. |
| Rowe | |

- Seabury, Rev. Dr. Wm. Jones 8 Chelsea Sq., N. Y.
Sebring, William C. Kingston, N. Y.
Seelye, Elwyn Lake George.
Sexton, Mrs. Pliny T. Palmyra.
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Sidway, Mrs. Frank St. John 37 Oakland Place, Buffalo.
Sills, Dr. Charles Morton Geneva.
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Sill, Dr. Frederick S. 169 Mohawk St., Cohoes.
Silver, Dr. John Archer Geneva.
Simpson, John Boulton 1170 Broadway, N. Y.
Sims, Charles N. Liberty, Indiana.
Sidway, Mrs. Frank St. John, 37 Oakland Place, Buffalo.
Shedden, Hon. Lucian L. Plattsburgh.
Shepard, Dr. Edward M. Lake George.
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| Vann, Hon. Irving G. | Syracuse. |
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| Wait William | Kinderhook. |
| Wakeman, Abram | 136 Front St., N. Y. |
| Wallander, A. W. | Mt. Vernon. |
| Waller, Rev. Henry D. | Flushing. |
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| Willey, Rev. John H. | 466 East 18th St., Brooklyn. |
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| Williams, Charles H. | 690 Delaware Ave., Buffalo. |
| Willis, James D. | 40 East 39th St., N. Y. |
| Wilson, Henry Applegate | 574 Madison St., Brooklyn. |
| Wing, Asahel R. | Fort Edward. |
| Wright, Miss Abbie A. | Sandy Hill. |
| Woodruff, Hon. Timothy L. | 8th Ave. and 18th St., Brooklyn. |
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